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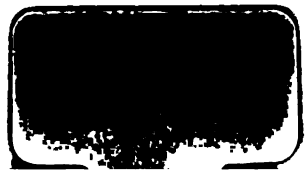

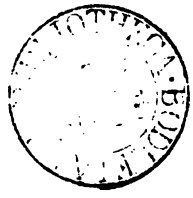

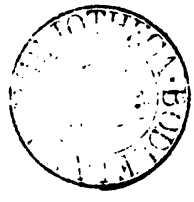

MEMORIAL

OF

MARY PRINCESS OF ORANGE

QUEEN-CONSORT TO KING WILLIAM III.

BY

GILBERT BURNET LORD BISHOP OF SARUM

CHANCELLOR OF THE MOST NOBLE ORDER OF THE GARTER

WITH AN APPENDIX.

EDINBURGH

PRINTED BY THOMAS CONSTABLE

PRINTER TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

M.DCCC.XLII.

226. l 155

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PREFACE.

When the Bishop of Salisbury presented that which was his own favourite work, the 'Discourse of the Pastoral care,' by the hands of Archbishop Tillotson, to the Sovereign to whom it was afterwards dedicated, whose character he has so favourably portrayed in the following Memorial, the Archbishop having read aloud 'The Conclusion,' as it is there entitled, of that which forms the ninth chapter, and which it seems had then contained some expressions more laudatory than the Queen's unaffected modesty would allow—her Majesty observed to Tillotson, 'that the Bishop of Sarum could use no moderation in speaking of her;' and accordingly desired there should be nothing more than a bare dedication—the same which we find prefixed to that truly excellent and very valuable work. The prohibition, however, did not deter the Bishop from discharging the duty which he

owed not merely to his Royal Mistress, but to posterity, by leaving on record, after her death, the very comprehensive idea of her virtues, which is presented alike to her successors and her people, in the Essay which he has dedicated more especially to the Memory of Queen Mary; and although, in delineating the character of Sovereigns, more must often be left to a good understanding than may always safely be expressed, yet, in the present instance, somewhat certainly more desirable has been accomplished than a mere testimonial of personal loyalty and grateful regard.

The Historian of his own Time has raised a national monument to the memory of the Queen, far more enduring than those of brass or of marble; like the statue of Minerva by Phidias, which the critical Athenians, who examined it very closely, scoffed at on account of the size and apparent roughness of the design, which even they could not duly discern, till, raised upon its column and lessened by the distance of time and place to a just and fair proportion, the idol seemed to speak in silent eloquence,—the shade of a goddess by the hand of a master workman. So, also, the spiritual and intellectual expression, the Christian stature of the British Queen, has been ably conceived, and faithfully embodied in the likeness which Burnet, gifted with the craft of Bezaleel,

hath kindly, rather than finely, wrought, not only of her public but private virtues. Filled with the wisdom of the heart, his bold conception of a British matron and patriot Queen, united in the person of the Sovereign-Consort of our glorious Deliverer from the bondage of civil and religious tyranny, stands out in high relief through every page of the Memorial. The name of *saint* may strike offensively, perhaps, upon the muffled drum of ears polite, or raise the wilfully ignorant and perhaps envious sneer of conscious and unrepenting impurity; yet the hand of The Eternal hath written it, in the blood of that sacrifice which endureth for ever, that *without holiness no man shall see the Lord.* The testimonial which the Bishop of Salisbury hath raised, is therefore founded on the Rock; he has placed and fixed it faithfully upon the Stone of Israel, the fear and the love of God, the memorial of his holiness.

Monarchy, in the joint sovereignty of King William and his Consort, seems indeed, at first sight, to have lost its very essence, as being a government by one person; but, as the Bishop well remarks, 'the administration being only in one at a time, these joint sovereigns were more *one*, than either espousals or a joint tenure of the throne could make them; there was an union of their thoughts as well as of their persons, and a concurring in

the same designs as well as the same interests; both seemed to have one soul, they looked like the different faculties of the same mind;' they were joined in that mysterious union which is contracted and consummated by diligent and earnest attendance on the worship of God our Saviour, in the public and private ordinances of his house. The predestinarian opinions of William are well known, but his firm persuasion that all events will be as God will have them, did not tempt him to rest presumptuously on this doctrine in any of his counsels before things fell out, though after the event, the belief that God would have it so, quieted his mind, and helped him to bear many misfortunes and disappointments more easily. It was the peculiar nature of his courage that it did not sink with misfortunes, but when affairs miscarried in his hands, he was observed to have the same calm equanimity that he had on happier occasions; the same redeeming strength of purpose, the wise-hearted resolution which could have enabled him willingly to die behind the last dyke in defence of the independence of the United Provinces,—or, when the good cause demanded, to peril all for liberty.

THE QUEEN appears to have lived in an habitual sense of the Divine presence, and her own final responsibility to the King of Kings. On those occasions when her

husband's absence in the reduction of Ireland, and his wars abroad, vested the kingly power in her person, or, to adopt the figurative expression used by Burnet, 'when she was at the helm,' prepared evidently to maintain her individuality in the exercise of rule, it was neither wholly merged in her duty as a wife, nor in those maxims of our Constitution which infer the irresponsibility of the chief magistrate. 'Our late blessed Queen,' says he, in another of his writings somewhat later than the present, when vindicating himself from the waspish malice of his enemies,—'Our blessed Queen was not a person of so pliant an understanding as to be wrought upon by any. If ever the Sacred Remains of her pen are suffered to come abroad, then the world will see with what a searching understanding she penetrated into things; and how little it was in the power of any mortal to impose upon her.' Her own well directed and correctly informed judgment, together with the advice of her spiritual guides, instructed her that there are occasions on which every conscience, whether of sovereign or of subject, must think and act for itself, and on which no one conscience can answer for any other. There are some special trials, on which the God of heaven and earth, in whose hand is the soul of every living thing—the breath of all mankind, and whose are all the ways of the sovereigns of this world, will have them to glorify HIM in

their obedience. Thus, when the purity of Christian truth and the doctrines of the Reformation were assailed by the measures which James II. pursued, not merely by subverting the Reformed Establishment of the Church in England, but also by interfering illegally with private rights and civil freedom, his daughter's devotion to the Father of Spirits superseded her duty of affection to her father after the flesh,—and this although she saw that not only her reputation might suffer by her share in the deposition which followed, but that her religion, too, might be concerned in the reproaches that she was to look for. To an awakened and living conscience, a sense and even distant perception of the wrath of God, and the judgements, national and personal, which are the certain retribution awarded in the Word of Truth to unrepented sin, will make the stoutest-hearted tremble with dismay; but to a well-informed and tender conscience, the slightest offence or indignity done to the honour of Christ and the profession of the ever blessed name of Jesus, will deeply grieve that spirit of love, which, however lowly or exalted their station in this world may be, unites all chosen, and true, and faithful believers, in the honourable and glorious service of their only Supreme Head and Sovereign Benefactor.

Another of these points of fiery trial, concerning which

the Queen evinced on all occasions a peculiar tenderness and anxiety, carrying out in a still higher degree the methods of Elizabeth, was her conscientious and wise caution in the bestowing of Church preferments, which, the Memorial tells us, 'she reckoned as one of the main parts of her care, for which a particular account was to be given to that God, from whom her authority was derived and to whom she had devoted it,' and certainly, if the express authority of scripture calls upon the believer to exercise his own judgment, and confers upon him a voice in the appointment of the spiritual guide who is to minister for his soul in holy things, then surely all other methods which supersede this right of private judgment, either by violent measures or by the more subtle wiles of the adversary, are contrary to the mind and will of Christ. Towards the close of his life, Burnet appears to have increased rather than slackened his zeal for the abatement of this grievous abuse, which the imperfection of the English Reformation had left as a spot and wrinkle upon the spouse of Christ. He evidently felt that somewhat was necessary to be done, that he owed the disburdening of his mind on this subject as a sacred duty to his Divine Master, and added after 'The Conclusion,' which has already been referred to, a tenth chapter 'On presentations and Simony,' which first appeared in the third edition of 'The Pastoral Care,' and

which, though by far too complaisant to the ungodly usurpation of Patronage, contains matter of deep interest to all believers, whether sovereigns, statesmen, or subjects.

With reference to these views of the Queen's motives in the disposal of the higher preferments of the English Church, we have an account of Burnet's presentation by King William to the See of Salisbury in 1689; as it occurs in a passage of the History of his own Time, recorded in a manuscript preserved among those of the Harleian Collection in the British Museum,* which contains some particulars omitted in the printed history, and is highly illustrative of her peculiar care and zeal in this important province.

'A great many Bishops happened to die in a few months, so that the King made six Bishops in the space of so many months. Salisbury, Chester, Bangor, Worcester, and Bristol. To the first of these, that was the first the King thought fit to promote me, he did it of his own motion; for though a great many of my friends without any encouragement from me moved him in it, he made them no manner of answer, till he took occasion

* MS. No. 6584, in the eighth portion.

to speak to myself, and he did it in a way that was much more obliging than I could have expected from him. When I waited on the Queen she told me, "she hoped I would set a pattern to others, and would put in practice those notions with which I had taken the liberty sometimes to entertain her." She also recommended to me, "the making my wife an example to the clergymen's wives, both in the simplicity and plainness of her clothes and in the humility of her deportment;" this I mention, (adds the Bishop,) to shew what is the Queen's sense of the duties of clergymen and of the behaviour of their wives; the vanity and pride of those has risen to a great excess, and I have put many out of countenance, and have freed either them of their vanity, or at least their husbands of the expense of it, by letting this rule that the Queen gave me be known.'

The Letters addressed to her Royal Consort, which appear in the Appendix to the present volume, formed probably some portion of the 'Sacred Remains of her pen,' referred to in the passage formerly quoted; and amply sustain the estimate which the Bishop has there drawn of her character. In all the material features, they present, as it were, a living testimony, to be seen and read of all men, that in what he has written his praise has not been immoderate, nor has he either strained or

over-stated the truth. The interesting and highly valuable documents were printed originally by Sir John Dalrymple, in his Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland, from the originals in King William's cabinet at Kensington, and were far too important as matter of evidence justifying the praises of the Memorial, as well as on account of their natural ease and unadorned beauty of composition, to have been omitted on the present occasion. It is only to be regretted that we have not more of them. These are no doubt some of 'the copious accounts that she gave to *him*, whom both God and her own choice had made her oracle,' mentioned at p. 67, and form that interesting portion wherein she details unconsciously much of the history of the time, and to herself those very trying moments which preceded the battle at the Boyne, when the lives of her husband and her father were periled against each other in the uncertain scales of victory, and the sole administration of the kingly authority at home was in her person. There are few readers who will not dwell with more than common interest on the letter from Whitehall, written the night before the arrival of the news of the battle, July 15th, 1690,—'*At this time I dare say but little by candle-light, and 'tis to-morrow the first Sunday of the month. I have really hardly had time to say my prayers. . . . . Adieu; think of me, and love me as much as I shall you, whom I*

love more than my life,'—words which convey a lively picture, not only of that striking moment, but of the purity of her mind, and the entire and anxious affection with which she loved her husband.

The express which brought the intelligence that King William had been wounded by a cannon-ball previously to the passage of the river, arrived the next morning, July 16th, 1690. 'Your letter,' writes the Queen, 'came just before I went to chapel.' Burnet ministered on that occasion, and the sermon which he preached before her Majesty was published by her command; the reader will find it also in the Appendix. It is, in many respects, valuable, both with respect to the doctrine propounded, and the able manner in which it is unfolded; but also for the practical application of that doctrine, which is made in her answer to the King's letter, penned during the night of the same day. 'I do trust in God,' says the royal saint to her husband, 'and He is pleased every day to confirm me more and more in the confidence I have in Him; yet my fears are not less, since I cannot tell, if it should be His will to suffer you to come to harm for our sins, and when that might happen; for though God is able, *yet many times He punishes the sins of a nation as it seems good in His sight.*' This is just the leading doctrine of the sermon which Burnet

had been preaching before her, viz.:—'*That the greatest security and happiness of a nation depends upon its being at peace with God, and in his favour; and its greatest danger and misery arises out of God's anger and displeasure.*'

The servant of God had addressed this doctrine from the spiritual presence of his Master to the heart and conscience of the Queen, and the word preached having fallen upon the good ground of an upright and sincere heart, brought forth its precious fruit in the great work of *application* and profitable use of the talent which the Messenger of the Covenant had put into her willing hand. It is thus that the Eternal Jehovah is still ready to meet his own Israel, as Jacob met the angels of God when he went on his way; and '*as the eagle stirreth up her nest, fluttereth over her young, spreadeth abroad her wings, taketh them, beareth them on her wings—so the Lord alone did lead him,*' and still leads Israel in the preaching of the Word, when the soul, caught away by the Spirit, and begotten anew in the Beloved, is borne upwards on the eagle wings of faith and love, far above and beyond the vision of our fallen nature; there, nourished at the source of heavenly light, she renews her youth, where the sunbeams of Righteousness fall newborn before the Throne of Glory!

ALL flesh is grass, and all the goodliness thereof is as the flower of the field. Some of these flowers have more life and lustre than others; they are more beautiful as well as more lasting: yet, in the course of things, the grass withereth and the flower fadeth; and that sometimes so quick, and by such an unlooked for turn, that in the morning it groweth up and flourisheth, and in the evening it is cut down and withereth. One stroke of a scythe cuts them down by handfuls; and then the best decked spot of ground does quickly change its face, and lose all its beauty. We, who but the other day saw a great Queen,—I say, the other day, for such an idea must live so long and so fresh in our minds, that for a great many years we will still say, the other day—we, who saw Her, like the master-piece of nature, wrought up by all the polishings of art and improvement,

look with so fresh a bloom, and such promising appearances; who carried that air of life and joy about her, that animated all who saw her, and who reckoned their own lives both the safer and the happier, because hers was so firm, must now lament that all this is taken from us, with one sudden and amazing stroke. The best part of us, our hearts and hopes, are struck down with Her, who was the best, God knows, the much best part of us all. We look up to Heaven, with deep though silent regret, as if we envied her blessedness; we look down to the Earth, like men that are sinking thither; we look to the Grave, where what was mortal is lodged till it becomes immortal, with a sort of indignation, that it should receive and consume those sacred remains for which we feel a sort of superstition, which though our reason may check, yet it cannot quite silence or extinguish.

Nature, even on very extraordinary occasions, is apt to give itself some vent, and to procure to itself some mitigation of its pain. And when it is too full for well chosen expressions or regular discourses, the broken and inarticulate language of sighs and tears gives some relief: a calm succeeds those storms; they give at least a breathing, and softer intervals. Here we feel such an oppression, and distraction of thought, that they choke us inwardly, and break out only in amazement, and in a wildness of look and behaviour. We feel so great a loss in present, that we

need not heighten it by the gloomy prospect of the fatal consequences that may follow it; and yet we cannot help seeing that, which is but too visible. We dare not pretend to enter into the secret of God's counsels, which are wrapt up from the eyes of mortals: yet they have such characters upon them, that from thence we are induced to make some conjectures about them; though, after all, these are but conjectures, and are often ill grounded. But whether we look up to God, or to the outward face of things, and to those appearances that are but too obvious, we soon find cause enough to drive back our thoughts to that dark and native horror that does now haunt and possess them. Some may perhaps make vain complaints against God, and try to ease their own grief by accusing his Providence: our hearts may carry us to say, Why was so much worth laid in one mind, and so nobly lodged? Why was it just shewed to the world, with advantage enough to let all men see what might have been expected from it? Why were so many great ideas and vast designs formed by her? Why was she furnished with such skill and softness in the management of them? And the sad Why comes last, Why was all this snatched from us so early and so suddenly?

It is true, all God's ways are a great depth; and we may never presume to ask of him a reason of any of his dealings, which are past finding out: but here the steps of his Providence

are so accountable, that we ought not to be long in the dark about them. So much worth was full ripe for Heaven, and was much too good for Earth, especially for so corrupt a part of it as we are. If those great blessings which Heaven held forth to us in her, had attained the ends for which they were designed, we might then have hoped that her crown would have been the longer delayed, and that our happiness might have been the more lasting. The cutting part of our sorrow is this, that we have too good reason to believe that we have procured this to ourselves.

Unless, according to the growing impiety that spreads itself amongst us, we will conclude that God has forsaken the earth, and that all things roll, either under the sullenness of fate, or the giddiness of chance; if we believe that Providence watches over, and governs all that happens here below, we must then acknowledge, that so great a change as this has made, could not have come upon us, but by a just and wise direction. Therefore, instead of those irregular thoughts and expressions, by which so great a commotion of mind may discharge itself, and instead of those wild and dejecting apprehensions, which it may be apt to throw upon us, we ought to reduce ourselves to more order, and to consider more sedately, what we may justly fear, and how we may wisely provide against it.

If we will examine what may have brought so severe a stroke upon us, and what may draw after it yet heavier ones, (but, can any be heavier?) then, if there is yet room for hopes, if our wound is not incurable, and if the breach that is made upon us is not wide as the sea, so that nothing can hinder our being overflown by it, then I say, the searching into this is all the reserve that is left us, all that can balance so inestimable a loss, or rather, all that can save us from being swallowed up utterly by it.

Even in a shipwreck every one is forced, after all his astonishment at their common fate, to try by what shift he himself may escape: for though the first disorders of melancholy may make one wish rather to perish in so terrible a calamity, than to survive it; yet, after all, nature returns to itself, and feels self-preservation to be too deeply wrought into its composition, to be easily shaken off. While, then, such a load oppresses us, and when such fears compass us round, all that remains, to make the one lighter, and to dissipate the other, is for us to lay our hands on our mouths, because God has done it: but then to lay them on our hearts, and to ask ourselves, What have we done? and, What shall we do to be saved?

How just soever any affliction may seem to be, yet it must have its bounds. Our religion gives a temper; it does not impose

upon us the dry sullenness of stoics: their most admired sayings, That fate is inexorable; That it is in vain to be troubled at that we cannot help; and the famed answer of him, who, upon the news of his son's death, said coldly, 'I knew that I begat him mortal,' have an air in them that seems above the present state of human nature. It looks too savage, and contrary to those tender affections that are planted in us, and that are in some sort necessary for carrying on the common concerns of life. But the extremes on the other hand are much more boisterous and untractable: while the rages of passion govern, neither the calmness of reason nor the authority of religion will be hearkened to. Heathenism was fruitful in the inventions of fury: hecatombs of living creatures were thought poor oblations; human sacrifices were offered liberally on those occasions; nor was the greatest waste of treasure, with all the profusion of funeral piles and magnificent buildings, thought a suitable addressing of their dead to the invisible state to which they went, unless innumerable ghosts were sent after them, as a welcome convoy to follow them thither. When the civilizing of the world, and the decencies, first of humanity, then of philosophy, and chiefly, when revealed religion came to soften and enlighten men, those outrageous solemnities fell off; though the costly part was by many kept up with too much ostentation. The corrupters of religion found, that the tenderness of affection, with that generous disinterest-

edness which it gave, offered to them a harvest that might be fruitful; and they were not defective in the art of cultivating it.

Opinions were invented, and practices were contrived, that drew great wealth into their hands, and begat a consideration for them, which, if it had not been over-done by the managers, and that in a manner too coarse and too ravenous not to be found out at last, was bringing the whole world under their authority. Their title seemed sure, and it was to have its chief operation when both those who died and those who lived were the least able to examine their pretensions: the fears of the one and the sorrows of the other made them very pliant to their conduct, and implicit under it.

We have a better light, and are governed by truer measures: we know there is a wise Providence, and a future state; and in those two never failing sources of quiet and submission, we give our sorrows just abatements. But, since all the steps of Providence, though just and wise in themselves, have not the same face to us, some of them being as bright as others are dark, we ought not to look on Providence as rigid fate, but as the steady conduct of a mind that is infinitely wise: we ought therefore to go as far as reasonably we can, in judging what is the language of that Providence to us, and what the designs of it upon us may be.

The liveliest as well as the usefullest exercise of our thoughts is, to sum all that was excellent and imitable in the person whose loss we lament; to lay it all together; to observe how amiable it was, what an influence it had, and in what effects it appeared. This, if it rests in the bare commendation of one that may be safely praised, when flattery or interest cannot be thought to have any share in the incense that is then given, it is at least a justice to the memory of a person that deserved it, and a homage to virtue itself. It will probably go deeper, and have its best effect upon us: it will engage us to love those virtues in ourselves, which we admire in others, and will reproach us, if we commend that in another which we take no care to imitate ourselves. Probably this will not evaporate quite into discourse, or wear off with time; somewhat will stick, and have a due effect upon us. Some of those virtues may so far insinuate themselves into us, that we may grow to love and practise them. A noble pattern cannot be much looked at without begetting some disposition to copy after it, and to imitate it. A great lustre, though it may sometimes dazzle, yet it enlightens as well as it strikes.

Those who are perhaps tied too closely, by some fatal engagements, to practices that they cannot resolve on forsaking, yet have that secret veneration for true virtue, especially for the sublime of it, and saw so much of that in our blessed Queen,

that they may be desirous to see such a just representation of those various branches of her character, as may entertain their admiration at present, and be perhaps of some more use to them in other periods of their lives. They may desire to be made wiser, if not better by it. They may hope that, what effect soever it may have on the present age, it will have some on those that are to come; it will be a lively part of our history, and set a noble pattern to succeeding princes. And all persons, how bad soever they may be themselves, have too sensible a share in government, not to wish that their princes were truly and heroically good.

A picture of Her, that may have some life in it, is that which all seem to desire. Where there were so many peculiar features, and yet so much of majesty spread over them all, it seems as hardly possible not to hit a great deal of the resemblance, as to hit it all, and to draw truly, and to the life. Every one will at first view say, 'It is she:' but this abatement must be expected, that it has not quite taken her. It has not her air, though it may have her features. The colours will seem to sink, when we remember how the original itself looked.

Extraordinary degrees of virtue in sovereign princes, happen so seldom, that it is no wonder if they give the world a surprise

that is as great as it is agreeable. When we look through past ages, and through all the different climates and corners of the world, we find little that is truly eminent, without some great diminution accompanying it.

We accustom ourselves by study and observation, not to be flattered with the hopes of seeing ideas of perfection on the throne. It seems a presumption to fancy that our own times should have a privilege that former ages could not boast. We find that even David, and Solomon much more, had blemishes almost equal to their virtues. Few of their successors arrived at their degree of perfection; though they might have all their alloy. Hezekiah and Josiah are the least exceptionable; yet some lesser slips occur even in their history. Constantine and Theodosius were two of the greatest blessings of the Christian Church; yet we dare not propose them as patterns in every thing. Clovis and Charles the Great make a mighty figure in history, because the world is disposed to remember what was good in them, and to forget the rest. A full picture of these would have one side so bright, with another so spotted, that the whole would look but oddly. If the good and bad that was in most princes whose names sound the best, were set against one another, as critically as Suetonius has represented the Roman Emperors, the world would perhaps retract much of the admira-

tion that it has paid them; and might be for some time in suspense, which side of the character was superior, and did preponderate the other.

Female government has had its peculiar blemishes, with fewer patterns to compensate for the faultiness of others. The fierceness of Semiramis' character does lessen her greatness; and the luxury of Cleopatra does more than balance her beauty. The cruelties of Irene were such, that even her zeal for images could not cover them, in the thickest mist of superstition. Mathildis, and the Joans of Naples, are too black to be well thought of, for all the flatteries of Popes; and Pope Gregory's raptures upon Brunichild have lessened him, rather than changed her character. It is true, Pulcheria has a fairer grace; yet some suspicions have a little eclipsed her: and her reign was but of few days' continuance till she chose a husband, who was made emperor by the right of marrying her. Amalazuntha has a nobler character; it is indeed given her by Cassiodore, that had been her chief minister; but he was the wisest and best man of the age: her fate was dismal, and others have cast black imputations on her: but if that wise senator is to be believed, she was one of the best and greatest, though the most unfortunate of women. Female government has seldom looked so great as it did in Isabel of Castile. But if she was a good queen, she was but an indiffer-

rent wife, and all the honour she did her sex, was thrown down in her daughter, who was likewise a sovereign; whose violent affections to her husband were as troublesome while he lived, as extravagant after his death; she keeping the dead body still in view, and making it travel about with her in her journeys, which she made only in the night,—neglecting government, and sinking into a feebleness that made her become at last utterly incapable of even the shadow of it, which was all that had remained in her for many years.

If Jane of Navarre had had a larger sphere, she was indeed a perfect pattern; nothing was ever suggested to lessen her, but that which was her true glory,—her receiving the Reformation. She both received it, and brought her subjects to it. She not only reformed her Court, but her whole Principality, to such a degree, that the Golden Age seemed to have returned under her; or rather, Christianity appeared again with the purity and lustre of its first beginnings. Nor is there one single abatement to be made here: only her Principality was narrow; her dominion was so little extended, that though she had the rank and dignity of a Queen, yet it looked liker the shadow than the reality of sovereignty; or rather, it was sovereignty in miniature,—though the colours were very bright, it was of the smallest form.

Two Maries in this island shewed a greatness of genius that has seldom appeared to the world: but the superstition and cruelty of the one, and the conduct and misfortunes of the other, did so lessen them, that the sex had been much sunk by their means, if it had not been at the same time as powerfully supported by the happiest aud most renowned of all Sovereign Queens,—I know I need not name her.

The great figure she made both at home and abroad, her wise conduct and able ministry were such, that the nation's flourishing in trade, and extending itself in colonies, the increase of our wealth, and the strength of our fleets, owe their beginnings to her auspicious reign. The great transactions then abroad in the world, took their turn from the direction and the support that she gave them. But that which is above all, and for which we owe her memory the profoundest acknowledgments; it was by her means, that the true religion received its establishment among us. She delivered us from a foreign yoke; she freed us from idolatry and superstition; and settled us upon a Constitution that has been ever since the truest honour, as well as the greatest support of the Reformation. So much we owe to the ashes of the great Queen, that her memory is still fresh and sacred among us, her times are esteemed the standard of our happiness, and her name still carries a delightful sound to

every English ear. If there were any defects or disorders in that time, we ought to think mildly of them, and to censure them gently. In her we must own that female Government seemed to have shined with the fairest glory: we are sure that history can show nothing like it.

But the latest instance is commonly the freshest in our thoughts, and what lustre soever authority in that sex may have cast about it in the last age, it has come under a cloud in the present. A queen has lived in our own times, whose great descent gave her a just title to the highest gratitude, and whose mind seemed born with a sublimity made for empire, that for some time, like the northern star, attracted the eyes of all the world to her. But she abandoned her throne and subjects, and chose rather to wander ingloriously, than to maintain her post, and exert her superiority of genius in governing well at home, and giving law to those about her. This had made the disposition to Salic laws become more universal. We have seen that which has not only taken off the cloud which she had cast on her sex, but has raised it far beyond the precedents or patterns of former times. In Her, that name which all generations shall call blessed has recovered the amiable sound that it ought ever to have. We heard it, not without some harshness, when we remembered some who had carried it; nothing can add to the

glorious beginning of that name; yet our Mary has restored it to its first sweetness.

We seek in vain for a pattern to resemble her; her grandmother of Navarre is the likest thing we find to her. But we do not lessen that queen's glory, when we say, that this descendant of hers had an auguster appearance and a more exalted throne. She had the higher sphere, and so we may conclude she was the superior intelligence. She was all that the other queen had been, even while she was in her princely state. The world has reason to believe, that every thing would have been the same in the other, if she had been advanced to an Imperial Crown. But what may be well believed of her, was seen in this branch that sprang from her root; her worth grew with her advancement. She was not only better known in it, but there was a constant progress in her virtues, even beyond that of her fortunes.

Yet after all, this cannot so properly be called a female government; though sovereignty was in her, it was also in another; her administration supplied the other's absence. Monarchy here seemed to have lost its very essence; it being a government by one. But as the administration was only in one at a time, so they were more one, than either espousals or a joint tenure of

the throne could make them; there was an union of their thoughts as well as of their persons; and a concurring in the same designs, as well as in the same interests. Both seemed to have one soul, they looked like the different faculties of the same mind. Each of them having peculiar talents, they divided between them the different parts of government, as if they had been several provinces: while he went abroad with the sword in his hand, she stayed at home with the sceptre in hers: he went as the arbiter of Europe, to force a just, as well as a general peace; she stayed to maintain peace, and to do justice at home. He was to conquer enemies, and she was to gain friends. He, as the guardian of Christendom, was to diffuse himself to all; while she contracted her care chiefly to the concerns of religion and virtue. While he had more business, and she more leisure, she prepared and suggested what he executed. In all this, there was so close, but so entire an union, that it was not possible to know how much was proper to any one, or if ever they differed in a thought from one another: but the living are not now to be spoke of, our thoughts must run wholly where our sorrows carry us.

While we seek for resemblances to her, in sacred history, we find her so like Josiah, that their being of the same dignity, may excuse the parallel, though the sex is different. He came after a long and deep corruption, a reign that had so entirely vitiated

the nation, that neither the judgements of God that fell on Manasses, nor his own sincere though late repentance, was able to correct the disorders of his former years. So soon is a nation run into so depraved a state, that its recovery becomes almost desperate. Josiah was under much disadvantage in his first education: his being a king so young, exposed him to all the flatteries by which those about him might hope to insinuate themselves into his favour; but his happy temper was above it. While he was but growing out of childhood, in the eighth year of his reign and the sixteenth year of his age, he began to seek after God; he continued four years in this pious course of life, before he set about the reforming of his people, that his own good example might have such influence, and give him such credit in it, as might balance the slowness of beginning it. When he set about it, it was the work of six years to purge the land from idolatry; and of another six to set forward the repairing the Temple. All was not finished before the eighteenth year of his reign, so hard it is to recover a degenerated nation. As they were searching the Temple, the book of the law (by which most do understand the original itself) was found: the dreadful threatenings in it struck Josiah with a just horror. He sent to Huldah a famed prophetess, to see what comfort she could give him: she answered, that the decree was fixed and irreversible; but he should die in peace, and not see those fatal days. This was some

mitigation to his grief. He tried all he could to reform his people, but without success; they were weary of him and of his virtue, and were longing for an opportunity to return again to their idolatry. So inveterate was the corruption, that all the exactness of Josiah's care, as well as the strictness of the example that he set his own sons, could not keep them from the spreading contagion; it was so catching. This was the last essay of mercy upon that people, in the best of all their kings. He was fatally engaged in an unequal war, and was killed in the day of battle. His death, upon his own single account, would have given the Jews but too just a cause of a bitter mourning for him: but the miseries, that did immediately follow his death, made it to be so long remembered, that in a book writ about an hundred years after, it is said that they continued their mourning for him to that day. It was no wonder that it was remembered by them with so solemn and so lasting a sorrow. A succession of calamities came so thick after it, that there was scarce a lucid interval between them: captivity came after captivity: and what by war, what by famine, and what by desertion, in the course of four and twenty years after his death, their nation became an astonishment, a curse, and a byword to all nations. Jerusalem was laid in heaps, their temple was rased down to the ground, and Zion became a ploughed field. And if the second and final destruction of that city and nation had not been so signal, and

so particularly related by one who was an eye-witness of it, that it wore out the remembrance of all that had happened in former times, this would have passed for one of the blackest and the most amazing scenes in history.

That pathetical lamentation which Jeremy writ upon it, has strains in it so tender and so moving, that no man who has not hardened himself against the compassions of human nature, can read them without a sensible emotion; though they relate to transactions that happened many ages ago: such a lively poem as that is, makes them ever look fresh, and seem present.

I will make no reflections on any part of this historical deduction. It leads one so naturally to application, that there is no need of offering any. Here one may go rather too fast than too slow, and stretch the matter further than it will bear.

The whole of it, without any straining, lets us see, that in the worst state under which a nation can fall, a good prince gives a full stop to those judgements, that are reserved for them, even when they seem to be just breaking out upon them; and that the removal of such princes is like the letting loose that hand of justice, which was restrained by their intercessions. But, since there is an uniformity in the methods of Providence, and

that which has been is that which shall be, then such an amazing misery as accompanied the utter ruin of the Jewish nation, ought to make deep impressions on all others, and to give these words of the prophet a formidable sound: the righteous perish, and the merciful persons are taken away from the evil to come; which will come the quicker, as well as the more certainly, for their being taking away: and that will be yet the nearer, if while such an appearance of things is in view, no man considers it, nor lays it to heart.

Here I return to my subject, from which all that has been now said, is not so much a digression, as it may appear to be to vulgar readers: a subject it is, where the common censures of discourses of this kind, are not to be much apprehended. On other occasions of this nature, a few virtues must be raised, to make the most of them that may be; and some few accidents must be set out with due advantages. For the sake of these a great deal must be forgiven, and the rest is to be shaded, or showed as at a distance and in perspective. Mankind is so little disposed to believe much good of others,—because most men know so much ill by themselves, and are very unwilling to be made better,—that in order to the begetting a full belief of that which is proposed to the imitation of others, the words by which it is expressed must be severely weighed, and well chosen.

When things of this kind are related with an exactness that seems to be too much studied, the wit that is ill placed lessens the effect that might have followed, if the recital had been more natural: for what is most genuine, will be always the best received; nor must too much be said, how true or just soever.

The present age may be easily brought to believe any thing that can be said upon this subject, because the attestations of it came so thick from all hands. Yet such a character as is now to be offered the world, and to be conveyed down to posterity, must be so managed, that it may not seem too excessive; that duty or affection may not be thought to have raised it too high. The living witnesses, to whom we may now appeal, will soon go off the stage; the silent groans, as well as the louder cries that are now sounding in all our streets, and in every corner, will soon be drowned and hushed in silence; and then, that which will be now censured, as a narrow and scanty commendation, far below the subject, and unworthy of it, will appear to succeeding ages to be a strain above human nature: it will pass for the picture of an imaginary perfection, that seems rather to set forth what our nature ought to rise to, than what has really happened.

This precaution is necessary, when persons have lived in the shade, known only to a few and in a narrow neighbourhood.

But a man may take a freer range, when he undertakes to describe one that was always in view; that was under a constant observation; and where a high elevation did put even that which humility might endeavour to cover, in a true light. The bright as well as the dark sides of such persons, must be found out. Management may serve a turn, and go on for a time with secrecy and success: but the continued and uninterrupted thread of a life, led with so uniform an exactness, that censure itself could never find matter to fix on, even so long as to keep a doubtful thought in suspense, is that which one may venture on without the danger of over-doing it; he must rather despair to do it justice.

Where the matter rises with so copious a fruitfulness, a nice choice must be made; much must be omitted, a great deal must be only mentioned,—rather glanced at than enlarged on. The world is now so far before-hand in every thing that can be said, that we must own Fame has here changed her character, and has given such true and full representations, that there is little left to be done, but to put things that are generally known, and universally talked of, in a little order, and to tell them as natively as she did them.

Here arises an unexampled piece of a character, which may be

well begun with; for I am afraid it both began and will end with her. In most persons, even those of the truest merit, a studied management will sometimes appear with a little too much varnish: like a nocturnal piece, that has a light cast through even the most shaded parts, some disposition to set one's self out, and some satisfaction in being commended, will at some time or other shew itself, more or less. Here we may appeal to great multitudes; to all who had the honour to approach her, and particularly to those who were admitted to the greatest nearness, and the most constant attendance, if at any one time any thing of this sort did ever discover itself. When due acknowledgments were made, or decent things were said, upon occasions that had well deserved them, (God knows how frequent these were!) these seemed scarce to be heard: they were so little desired, that they were presently passed over, without so much as an answer, that might seem to entertain the discourse, even when it checked it. She went off from it to other subjects, as one that could not bear it.

So entire a deadness to the desire of glory, which even the philosophers acknowledged was the last thing that a wise man put off, seemed to be somewhat above human nature, and nearly resembling that state of absolute perfection, to which she has now attained. The desire of true glory, is thought to be the

noblest principle that can be in Sovereigns; which sets them on with the most constant zeal, to procure the good of mankind. Many have thought that a zealous pursuit of the one could not be duly animated and maintained without the other. It was a part of the felicity of our times, that we have seen the most active zeal for the public, and a constant delight in doing good, joined with such unaffected humility, so regardless of applause or praise, that the most critical observers could never see reason to think that the secret flatteries of vanity or self-love, did work inwardly, or had any power over her.

An open and native sincerity, which appeared in genuine characters, in a free and unconstrained manner, did easily persuade those who saw it, that all was of a piece. A constant, uniform behaviour, when that which is within does not agree with the appearances, seems to be a strain above our pitch. Nor could any person find any other reason to suppose that it was otherwise in this instance, but from the secret sense that every man has of some latent corruption, and the stolen insinuations of pride that he feels within himself, which may make him conclude that the whole race of mankind is so tainted, that nothing can be entirely freed from those infirmities which do so naturally beset us. But such persons ought to make another reflection, that daily observation shews to be true; that no man

lives under so exact a guard, and such a constant presence of mind, but that all those hidden dispositions which lurk within him, will shoot at sometimes, and show themselves upon great occasions, or sudden accidents. Nature will break through all rules, when it is much excited, or taken at unawares. Therefore it is much more reasonable, as well as it is more charitable, to think that there are no secret inclinations, which lie so quiet, that they do never discover themselves in a course of many years, and of unlooked for accidents, than to imagine that they are so covered and managed, as to be chained up in a perpetual restraint. There is an air in what is genuine that is soon seen,—I had almost said felt,—it looks noble, without strains or art; it pleases, as well as it persuades, with a force that is irresistible; and how silent soever it may be, it looks like the universal character: 'tis a language which nature makes all men understand, how few soever they are that speak it: this was so peculiar to her, and so singular in her, that it deserved well to be begun with.

In most of those persons who have been the eminentest for their piety and virtue, their thoughts have risen too high for human nature; their notions have become too fierce, and their tempers too sullen and untractable; they have considered only what was good and desirable in itself, without regarding what the

world could bear. They have not softened themselves enough into that agreeableness of temper, that might give such an amiable prospect of virtue as should encourage the world to love and imitate it. Their meditations have soured them too much; and by an obstinate pursuing their own ideas, without accommodating themselves enough to the frailties of others, they have given advantage to those who have studied to load them with prejudices: their designs have miscarried, and they themselves have become morose and melancholy; despairing of doing any thing, because they could not hope to do every thing. Cato's error has run through the best sort of men that have ever lived—of projecting a commonwealth like Plato's, when the Romans were run to a dreg. Children must be gained even by flattering their weaknesses, and by the softness of kindness and good humour. The grown state of man is often but an advanced childhood; a dotage rather than a ripeness. It must be confessed, that few of those who in all other respects seem to have been born for the good of mankind, have been able to give their notions that turn, to set them off with that air, and to recommend them with that address, which we of late admired so much. A charming behaviour, a genuine sweetness, and the sprightliness, as well as the freedom of good humour, had softened all those frightful apprehensions that the world is too willing to entertain of the severities of virtue, and of the strictness of true religion. Lesser matters were not much

stood on: an easy compliance in some of these, how little soever they were liked on their own account, was intended to give her advantages, in order to the compassing of greater things; while a fresh and graceful air, more turned to seriousness, but always serene, that dwelt on her looks, discovered both the perfect calm that was within, and shewed the force as well as the amiableness of those principles, which were the springs of so cheerful a temper and so lively a deportment.

The freedom of cheerfulness is not always under an exact command; it will make escapes from rules, and be apt to go too far, and to forget all measures and bounds. It is seldom kept under a perpetual guard. The openness of her behaviour was subject to universal observation; but it was under that regularity of conduct, that those who knew her best, and saw her oftenest, could never discover her thoughts or intentions further, than as she herself had a mind to let them be known. No half word, or change of look, no forgetfulness, or run of discourse, did ever draw any thing from her, further, or sooner than as she designed it. This was managed in so peculiar a way, that no distrust was shewed in it, nor distaste given by it. It appeared to be no other, than that due reservedness which became her elevation, and suited those affairs that were to pass through her hands. When she saw cause for it, she had the truest methods to oblige others

to use all due freedom with herself; while yet she kept them at a fit distance from her own thoughts.

She would never take any assistance from those arts, that are become so common to great posts, that some perhaps fancy them necessary: she did not cover her purposes by doubtful expressions, or such general words, as taken strictly, do signify little, but in common use are understood to import a great deal more. As she would not deceive others, so she avoided the saying of that which might give them an occasion to deceive themselves: and when she did not intend to promise, she took care to explain her meaning so critically, that it might be understood that no construction of a promise was to be made from general words of favour. In a course of several years, and of many turns, when great occasion was given for more artificial methods, and when, according to the maxims of the world, great use might have been made of them; yet she maintained her sincerity so entirely, to the honour of truth be it said, as well as to hers, that she never once needed explanations to justify either her words or actions. Integrity preserved her as well as she preserved it.

Such eminent, I am sorry to say, such unusual perfections, had they appeared in one of the meanest capacity, and of the lowest degree of improvement, yet must have challenged great

veneration. Common observation makes it but too apparent, that those of the highest form, that have an exaltation in them, which makes them like another rank of mortals,—that have a true flight of thought, a great compass of knowledge, a stability and equableness of temper, with a deep and correct judgment,—who have cultivated the advantages of nature, by searching and laborious acquisitions; such persons, I say, do dwell too much upon the preference that is due to them; and soil those shining distinctions that were born with them, by mixtures that need not now be enlarged on. A subject composed of so much perfection, ought not to be digressed from, to set out the disorders that appear but too frequently in the sublimest pieces of mankind. These are so unacceptable, while virtue has so benign an aspect, that eminent degrees of it, though joined with a lower proportion of that which seems to have more lustre, is much more valuable, that all that can be called great in human nature, is without it.

But if both these should happen to meet together, and that in as high a degree as our mortal state is capable of, then we must acknowledge, that this is all that we can expect from our nature, under its present depression. So few instances of such a mixture have appeared to us, that we must confess, it is much more than we ought to look for. The history of princes that have lived at a great distance from us, is seldom believed to be so exact,

especially in the commendatory part, that we rely much upon it. Xenophon has made Cyrus appear to be a prince so much perfecter than the world is disposed to believe, that the picture he gives of him passes rather for a piece of invention, than of history. When the world shall have lived beyond the fame of tradition and report, a minute history of this life, if exactly writ, may probably have the same fate: it will look too great to be credible.

What is good, as well as what is great in human nature, were here so equally mixed, and both shined so bright in her, that though one of these is always the better part, yet it is hard to tell, in whether of the two she was the more eminent.

I will say little either of her rank, or of her person: the dignity of the one, and the majesty of the other, were born with her. Her sphere was great, and she was furnished with advantages proportioned to it. She maintained her authority with so becoming a grace; and inspired so particular a respect, that in this regard only she was absolute and despotical, and could not be resisted. The port of royalty and the humility of Christianity did so happily concur in her,—that how different soever their characters may seem to be, they gave a mutual lustre to one another.

She maintained that respect that belonged to her sex, without any of those diminutions, that, though generally speaking they do not much misbecome it, yet do seem a little to lessen it. She would never affect to be above it in common and meaner things: she had a courage that was resolute and firm, mixed with a mildness that was soft and gentle; she had in her all the graces of her own sex, and all the greatness of ours. If she did not affect to be a Zenobia or a Boadicea, it was not because she wanted their courage, but because she understood the decencies of her sex better than they did. The character of a Jane of Navarre, or of our celebrated Elizabeth, was much more valuable in her esteem, than that of a Semiramis, or of a Thomiris. A desire of power, or an eagerness of empire, were things so far below her, though they generally pass for heroical qualities, that perhaps the world never yet saw so great a capacity for government, joined with so little appetite to it; so unwillingly assumed, so modestly managed, and so cheerfully laid down.

The clearness of her apprehension, the presence of her mind, the exactness of her memory, the solidity of her judgment, the correctness of her expressions, had such particular distinctions in them, that great enlargements might be made on every one of these, if a cloud of witnesses did not make them less necessary. None took things sooner, or retained them longer: none judged

truer, or spake more exactly. She writ clear and short, with a true beauty and force of style. She discovered a superiority of genius, even in the most trifling matters, which were considered by her only as amusements, and so gave no occasion for deep reflections. A happiness of imagination, and a liveliness of expression, appeared upon the commonest subjects, on the sudden, and in the greatest variety of accidents; she was quick but not hasty: and even without the advantages that her condition gave her, she had an exaltation of mind, that subdued, as well as it charmed all that came near her.

A quickness of thought is often superficial; it catches easily, and sparkles with some lustre; but it lasts not long, nor does it go deep: a bright vivacity was here joined with searching diligence. Her age and her rank had denied her opportunities for much study: yet she had gone far that way, and had read the best books in the three languages that were almost equally familiar to her. She gave the most of her hours to the study of the Scriptures, and of books relating to them. It were easy to give amazing instances of her understanding in matters of divinity. She had so well considered our disputes with the Church of Rome, that she was capable of managing debates in them, with equal degrees of address and judgment: nor was she unacquainted with those unhappy questions that have distracted us; and had

such just, as well as large notions about them, that they would have soon laid our animosities, and have composed our differences, if there had been temper enough, of all sides, to have hearkened to them.

She had a generous and a sublime idea of the Christian religion, and a particular affection to the Church of England; but an affection that was neither blind nor partial. She saw what finishings we still wanted; and had dedicated her thoughts and endeavours to the considering of the best means that might both complete and establish us; she intended to do all that was possible, in order to the raising a higher spirit of true devotion among us, to engage those of our profession to a greater application to their functions; and to dispose us all to a better understanding among ourselves; that we might with united endeavours, set ourselves to beat down Impiety and Immorality. She read and meditated much on these subjects; and judged of them with so just an exactness, that it appeared the strength of her mind went far beyond the compass of her knowledge. She took that care to be well informed of these matters, that when she met with hints, either in books or sermons, that related to other subjects with which she was not acquainted, she lost none of them: if they seemed to be of importance, she called for explanations of them, from those whom she suffered to entertain her upon such sub-

jects. She proposed them often with a preface, confessing her own ignorance: and when she had stated some difficulties to them very clearly, she would conclude with words that carried in them an air of modesty, that shined then most particularly, when she seemed to desire an increase of knowledge. She would say, "she did not know if there was any difficulty in such things or not; or, if she apprehended or expressed it right; or, if it was only her ignorance." When any new thing was laid before her, she seemed glad to have an occasion to own, that she knew nothing of that before: but then she would have it to be fully explained to her till she found she did thoroughly apprehend it. All these intimations were so carefully laid up by her, that she seemed scarce capable of forgetting them. After several years of interval, she returned in discourse to some subjects, that had been formerly opened to her, with a freshness of apprehension about them, as if the first discourse had never been interrupted. She knew none of the learned languages, yet when some passages of Scripture were explained to her, by the genius and phrases of the original languages, she retained them very carefully, even though she understood not the foundation of them. She loved sincerity in every thing, to such a degree, that she desired to understand the weak side as well as the strong one of all parties and doctrines. She loved a distinct knowledge of every thing; and she had accustomed those whom she admitted to talk to her

on such subjects, to hide neither the weakness of the one side, nor the strength of the other from her. When she delivered her own judgment, which she generally avoided to do, unless there was some necessity for it, she did it with that modesty, as well as exactness, that it shewed the force as well as the purity of her mind.

Next to the best subjects, she bestowed most of her time on books of history, chiefly of the latter ages, particularly those of her own Kingdoms, as being the most proper to give her useful instruction. Lively books, where wit and reason gave the mind a true entertainment, had much of her time. She was a good judge as well as a great lover of poetry; she loved it best when it dwelt on the best subjects. So tender she was of poetry, though much more of virtue, that she had a particular concern in the defilement, or rather the prostitution of the muses among us. She made some steps to the understanding philosophy and mathematics, but she stopped soon; only she went far in natural history and perspective, as she was very exact in geography. She thought sublime things were too high flights for the sex; which she oft talked of, with a liberty, that was very lively: but she might well be familiar with it, after she had given so effectual a demonstration of the improvements it was capable of. Upon the whole matter, she studied and read more than could be

imagined by any who had not known how many of her hours were spent in her closet. She would have made a much greater progress, if the frequent returns of ill humours on her eyes had not forced her to spare them. Her very diversions gave indications of a mind that was truly great; she had no relish for those lazy ones, that are the too common consumers of most people's time, and that make as great wastes on their minds, as they do on their fortunes. If she used them sometimes, she made it visible it was only in compliance with forms, because she was unwilling to offend others with too harsh a severity; she gave her minutes of leisure with the greatest willingness to architecture and gardenage. She had a riches of invention, with a happiness of contrivance, that had airs in it that were freer and nobler than what was more stiff, though it might be more regular; she knew that this drew an expense after it; she had no other inclinations besides this, to any diversions that were expenseful; and since this employed many hands, she was pleased to say that she hoped it would be forgiven her. Yet she was uneasy when she felt the weight of the charge that lay upon it.

When her eyes were endangered by reading too much, she found out the amusement of work; and in all those hours that were not given to better employments, she wrought with her own hands; and that sometimes with so constant a diligence, as if

she had been to earn her bread by it. It was a new thing, and looked like a sight, to see a Queen work so many hours a day. She looked on idleness as the great corrupter of human nature; and believed that if the mind had no employment given it, it would create some of the worst sort to itself; and she thought that any thing that might amuse and divert, without leaving a dreg and ill impressions behind it, ought to fill up those vacant hours, that were not claimed by devotion or business. Her example soon wrought on, not only those that belonged to her, but the whole town, to follow it; so that it was become as much the fashion to work, as it had been formerly to be idle. In this, which seemed a nothing, and was turned by some to be the subject of railery, a greater step was made, than perhaps every one was aware of, to the bettering of the age. While she diverted herself thus with work, she took care to give an entertainment to her own mind, as well as to those who were admitted to the honour of working with her; one was appointed to read to the rest; the choice was suited to the time of the day, and to the employment; some book or poem that was lively, as well as instructing. Few of her sex, not to say of her rank, gave ever less time to dressing, or seemed less curious about it. Those parts of it which required more patience, were not given up entirely to it. She read often, all the while herself, and generally aloud, that those who served about her, might be the better

for it; when she was indisposed, another was called to do it; all was intermixed with such pleasant reflections of her own, that the gloss was often better liked than the text. An agreeable vivacity spread that innocent cheerfulness among all about her, that whereas in most courts, the hours of strict attendance are the heaviest parts of the day, they were in hers the most delightful of all others.

Her cheerfulness may be well termed innocent; for none was ever hurt by it; no natural defects, nor real faults, true or false, were ever the subjects of her mirth; nor could she bear it in others, if their wit happened to glance that way. She thought it a cruel and barbarous thing, to be merry on other people's cost; or to make the misfortunes or follies of others the matter of their diversion. She scarce ever expressed a more entire satisfaction in any sermon that she had heard, than in our late Primate's against evil speaking. When she thought some were guilty of it, she would ask them if they had read that sermon. This was understood to be a reprimand, though in the softest manner. She had indeed one of the blessings of virtue, that does not always accompany it; for she was as free from censures, as she was from deserving them. When reflections were made on this, before her, she said, she ascribed that wholly to the goodness of God to her. For she did not doubt but that many

fell under hard characters, that deserved them as little. She gave it this further turn, that, God knew her weakness, and that she was not able to bear some imputations; and therefore he did not try her beyond her strength. In one respect, she intended never to provoke censure: she was conscientiously tender of wounding others; and said she hoped God would still bless her in her own good name, as long as she was careful not to hurt others; but as she was exact in not wronging any other while she diverted herself, so upon indifferent subjects she had a spring of cheerfulness in her that was never to be exhausted; it never ran to repetition, or forced mirth.

A mind that was so exalted by nature, and was so improved by industry, who was as much above all about her by her merit, as she was by her condition, and that owed those peculiar advantages, under God, chiefly to herself,—for very little was added to her by others,—had certainly a right to indulgent censures, even though she had given occasion to them. Much ought to have been forgiven, to one that had deserved so well; but this is perhaps the first instance that the world has yet seen, of one that had so much in her, that deserved to be valued and admired, without one single defect, or grain of alloy, that needed allowances to be made for it.

I have dwelt hitherto upon the more general parts of her character; I go next to consider what was more special. Those that deserve to be most enlarged on, are the dispositions of her mind, both with relation to the impressions of religion, and the compassions of human nature. What she was inwardly with relation to God, was only known to Him, whom she now sees face to face. Those with whom she talked with more than ordinary freedom, upon those matters, saw on many occasions, what an awful sense she had of God, and of all things in which His glory was concerned; they saw with how exact a tenderness she weighed every thing by which the purity of her own conscience was to be preserved unblemished, as well as unspotted.

In those great steps of her later years that carried a face which at first appearance seemed liable to censure, and that were the single instances of her whole life that might be thought capable of hard constructions, she weighed the reasons she went on with a caution and exactness that well became the importance of them; the bias lying still against that, which to vulgar minds might seem to be her interest. She was convinced that the public good of mankind, the preservation of that religion which she was assured was the only true one, and those real

extremities to which matters were driven, ought to supersede all other considerations. She had generous notions of the liberty of human nature, and of the true ends of Government; she thought it was designed to make mankind safe and happy; and not to raise the power of those, into whose hands it was committed, upon the ruins of property and liberty. Nor could she think that religion was to be delivered up to the humours of misguided princes, whose persuasion made them as cruel in imposing on their subjects the dictates of others, as they themselves were implicit in submitting to them: yet after all, her inclinations lay so strong to a duty that nature had put her under, that she made a sacrifice of herself, in accepting that high elevation, that perhaps was harder to her to bear, than if she had been to be made a sacrifice in the severest sense. She saw that not only her own reputation might suffer by it, but that religion too might be concerned in those reproaches that she was to look for. This was much more to her than all that crowns, with their gaudy lustre, could offer instead of it: but the saving of whole nations seemed to require it; and that being the only visible mean left to preserve the Protestant religion, not only here, but every where else, she was thereby determined to it.

She was no enthusiast; and yet she could not avoid thinking, that her being preserved during her childhood, in that flexibility

of age and understanding, without so much as one single attempt made upon her, was to be ascribed to a special providence watching over her: to that she added, her being early delivered from the danger of all temptations, and the advantages she had afterwards, to employ much privacy in so large a course of study, which had not been possible for her to have compassed, if she had lived in the constant dissipation of a public Court. These concurring, had convinced her, that God had conducted her by an immediate hand, and that she was raised up to preserve that religion which was then every where in its last agonies; yet when these and many other considerations, which she had carefully attended to, determined her, nature still felt itself loaded: she bore it with the outward appearances of satisfaction, because she thought it became her not to discourage others, or to give them an occasion to believe that her uneasiness was of another nature than truly it was: but in that whole matter she put a constraint upon herself (upon her temper I mean, for no consideration whatsoever could have induced her to have forced her conscience,) that was more sensible and violent to her, than any thing that could have been wished her by the most enraged and virulent of all her enemies.

Oh, could any be enemies to such virtue! and to so pure and so angelical a mind! could she that was the glory of her sex, the

darling of human nature, and the wonder of all that knew her, become the subject of hatred or obloquy!

A nobler subject calls me from this transport, to look over the other parts of her character, upon this head of religion. Modesty and humility covered a great deal from common observation,—indeed all that was possible for her to conceal; but no clouds can quite darken the day,—it casts a light, even when it does not shine out. Her punctual exactness, not only to public offices, but to her secret retirements, was so regular a thing, that it was never put off, in the greatest crowd of business or little journeys; then, though the hour was anticipated, the duty was never neglected; she took care to be so early on those occasions, that she might never either quite forget, or very much shorten that, upon which she reckoned that the blessing of the whole day turned. She observed the Lord's day so religiously, that besides her hours of retirement, she was constantly thrice a day in the public worship of God; and for a great part of the year, four times a day, while she lived beyond sea. She was constant to her monthly communions; and retired herself more than ordinary for some days before them. In them, as well as in all the other parts of the worship of God, an unexampled seriousness appeared always in her, without one glance let out for observation; and such care was taken to hide the more solemn elevations

of her mind to God, that these things struck all those who saw them, but had never seen any thing like them before. This did spread a spirit of devotion among all that were about her; who could not see so much in her, without feeling somewhat to arise in themselves; though few could chain themselves down to such a fixed and steady application as they saw in her. Nothing in that was theatrical, nothing given to show: every thing was sincere as well as solemn, and genuine as well as majestical.

Her attention to sermons was so entire, that as her eye never wandered from a good preacher, so she shewed no weariness of an indifferent one: when she was asked, how she could be so attentive to some sermons, that were far from being perfect, she answered, that she thought it did not become her, by any part of her behaviour, to discourage, or seem to dislike one that was doing his best. The hardest censure that she past on the worst, was, to say nothing to their advantage; for she never denied her commendations to any thing that deserved them. She was not content to be devout herself, she infused that temper into all that came near her; chiefly into those whom she took into her more immediate care, whom she studied to form with the tenderness and watchfulness of a mother. She charmed them with her instructions, as she overcame them with her kindness; never was mistress both feared and loved so entirely as she was. She

scattered books of instruction to all were round about her, and gave frequent orders that good books should be laid in the places of attendance, that such as waited might not be condemned to idleness, but might entertain themselves usefully, while they were in their turns of service.

She had a true regard to piety wherever she saw it, in what form or party soever. Her judgment tied her to our communion, but her charity was extended to all. The liberty that some have taken to unchurch great bodies of Christians, for some defects and irregularities, were strains that she could never assent to; nor indeed could she well bear them. She longed to see us in a closer conjunction with all Protestants abroad; and hoped we might strengthen ourselves at home, by uniting to us as many as could be brought within our body. Few things ever grieved her more, than that those hopes seemed to languish; and that the prospect of so desired an union vanished out of sight.

The raising the reputation and authority of the clergy, as the chief instrument for advancing religion, was that to which she intended to apply her utmost diligence. She knew that the only true way to compass this, was to engage them to be exemplary in their lives, and eminent in their labours: to watch over their flocks, and to edify them by good preaching and diligent cate-

chising. She was resolved to have the whole nation understand, that by these ways, and by these only, divines were to be recommended to favour and preferment. She made it visible, that the steps were to be made by merit, and not by friendship and importunity. Solicitations and aspirings were practices that affected her deeply, because she saw the use that was made of them, by malicious observers; who concluded from thence, that we run to our profession as to a trade, for the sake of the gains and honours that we might find in it,—and not to save souls, or to edify the Church. Every instance of this kind gave her a sensible wound, because it hardened bad men in the contempt of religion. She therefore charged those whom she trusted most in such matters, to look out for the best men, and the best preachers, that they might be made known to her. She was under a real anxiety when Church preferments, especially the more eminent ones, were to be disposed of. She reckoned that that was one of the main parts of her care, for which a particular account was to be given to that God, from whom her authority was derived, and to whom she had devoted it. When she apprehended that friendship might give a bias to those whom she allowed to speak to her, on those heads, she told them of it with the authority that became her, and that they well deserved. She could deny the most earnest solicitations, with a true firmness, when she thought the person did not deserve them; for that was superior

with her to all other considerations. But when she denied things, she did it with so much softness, and upon so good reason, that such as might be mortified by the repulse, were yet forced to confess, that she was in the right; even when, for the sake of a friend, they wished that she had for once been in the wrong.

It grieved her to hear how low and depauperated a great many of the churches of England were become: which were sunk into such extreme poverty, that it was scarce possible, even by the help of a plurality, to find a subsistence in them. She had formed a great and noble design to bring them all to a just state of plenty, and to afford a due encouragement; but pluralities and non-residence, when not enforced by real necessity, were otherwise so odious to her, that she resolved to throw such perpetual disgraces upon them, as should oblige all persons to let go the hold that they had got of these cures of souls over whom they did not watch, and among whom they did not labour.

In a full discourse on this very subject, the day before the fatal illness overtook her, she said, "she had no great hope of mending matters, yet she was resolved to go on, and never to suffer herself to be discouraged, or to lose heart; she would still try what could be done, and pursue her design, how slow or insensi-

ble soever the progress might be." She had taken pains to form a true plan of the primitive Constitutions, and had resolved to bring ours as near it as could be; that so it might become more firm and useful for attaining the great ends of religion. Neither the spirit of a party, nor of bigotry, lay at the bottom of all this. She did not project any part of it as an art of government, or an instrument of power and dominion.

Her scheme was thus laid; she thought that the Christian religion was revealed from heaven, to make mankind happy here, as well as hereafter; and that as mankind and society could not subsist without any religion at all, so also the corruption of Christianity had made many nations the worse rather than the better for that shadow of it, that was received among them. She thought that a pious, learned, and a laborious clergy was the chief mean of bringing the world under the power of the Christian religion; and that the treating their persons with respect, was necessary to procure them credit in the discharge of their function. She intended to carry on all this together, and not any one part of it separate from the rest. If at any time, she knew any thing in those who served at the altar, that exposed them to just censures, she covered it all that could be from common observation; but took care that the persons concerned should be both roundly spoke to, and proceeded against, when softer methods

did not succeed, or that it seemed necessary that their punishment ought to be made as public as their crimes were. She would never suffer any to go away with a conceit that a zeal for the service of the Crown could atone for other faults, or compound for the great duties of their function. This seemed to be the setting the interests of religion after their own; but she was resolved to give them always the preference.

No intimation was ever let fall to her in any discourse, that offered a probable mean of making us better, which was lost by her. She would call upon some to turn that motion over and over again, till she had formed her own thoughts concerning it. The last thing that she had settled with our late blessed Primate, was a scheme of such rules, as our present circumstances could bear, published since by his Majesty; which was an earnest of many others that were to follow in due time. It was indeed an amazing as well as a delightful thing, to see how well she understood such matters, and how much she was set on promoting them.

She judged aright, that the true end of power, and the best exercise of it, was to do good, and to make the world the better for it. She often said, that she found nothing in it to make it supportable, not to say pleasant, besides that; and she wondered

that the true pleasure which accompanied it, did not engage princes to pursue it more effectually. Without this she thought that a private life, with moderate circumstances, was the happier as well as the safer state. When reflections were once made before her, of the sharpness of some historians, who had left heavy imputations on the memory of some princes, she answered, "that if those princes were truly such as the historians represented them, they had well deserved that treatment, and others who tread their steps might look for the same, for truth would be told at last,—and that with the more acrimony of style, for being so long restrained: it was a gentle suffering to be exposed to the world in their true colours,—much below what others had suffered at their hands: she thought that all sovereigns ought to read such histories as Procopius; for how much soever he may have aggravated matters, and how unbecomingly soever he may have writ, yet by such books they might see what would be probably said of themselves, when all terrors and restraints should fall off with their lives." She encouraged those whom she admitted to frequent access, to lay before her all the occasions of doing good that might occur to their thoughts; and was always well pleased when new opportunities were offered to her in which she might exercise that which was the most valued of all her prerogatives. So desirous she was to know both how to correct what might be amiss, and to promote every good design, that she

not only allowed of great freedom in bringing propositions of that kind to her, but she charged the consciences of some with a command to keep nothing of that nature from her, which they thought she ought to know. Nor were such motions ever unacceptable to her, even when other circumstances made it impossible for her to put them in execution.

The reforming the manners of her people was one of her chief cares. If a greater progress was not made in this, according to the pious wishes of some who had good intentions and much zeal, the true account of that slowness was this; she had often heard that the hypocrisy of the former times, had brought on the atheism and impiety of the present, and had fortified libertines in their prejudices; therefore she resolved to guard against every thing that might seem to revive that. She observed that Josiah was, for the space of four years, engaged in a religious course of life, before he set himself to the reforming of his people; that, by the example he set them, he might gain so much credit in carrying on that design, as might excuse as well as compensate the slowness of beginning it. She judged that all people ought to be well possessed of their intentions in that matter: and she feared, lest in the disjointed state in which our affairs have lain so long, the going on with that design might have the face of serving some other end, under that appearance:

for that will be popular, even when things are in a very corrupt state. Therefore, though this was no sooner moved to her than she set it a-going, yet finding few instruments to concur in it, and seeing a violent opposition to those that did, she thought that the putting her whole strength to it, might be reserved with great advantage to another time, in which our affairs should have a calmer face, and be brought to a more sedate state. She did hearken carefully after every thing that seemed to give some hope that the next generation should be better than the present, with a particular attention. She heard of a spirit of devotion and piety, that was spreading itself among the youth of this great city, with a true satisfaction: she enquired often and much about it, and was glad to hear it went on and prevailed. "She lamented that whereas the devotions of the Church of Rome were all show, and made up of pomp and pageantry, that we were too bare and naked, and practised not enough to entertain a serious temper, or a warm and affectionate heart; we might have light enough to direct, but we wanted flame to raise an exalted devotion."

I have now given some instances of the temper of her mind, in that which concerned God and religion; I go, in the next place, to consider her with relation to human nature.

Princes are raised so far above the rest of mankind, that they do generally lose sight of those miseries, to which the greater part is subject. It would disturb that ease in which they pass away their hours, too much, to hear dismal recitals of the calamities of their people. How much soever they may be lifted up with the glorious title of 'the parents of their country,' yet for the most part they know little of the pressures their people lie under, and they feel them less. Our blessed Queen was become the delight of all that knew her, by the obliging tenderness with which she treated all those who came near her: she made the afflictions of the unfortunate easier to them, by the share that she bore of them; and the necessities of the miserable the more supportable, by the relief that she gave them. She was tender of those who deserved her favour, and compassionate towards those who wanted her pity. It was easy for her to reward; for all sorts of bounty flowed readily from her. But it was much harder for her to punish, except when the nature of the crime made mercy become a cruelty; and then she was inflexible, not only to importunity, but to the tenderness of her own compassionate heart.

She was indeed happily framed by nature; which wrought so soon that it prevented education. She was good and gentle, before she was capable of knowing that she ought to be so.

This grew up with her in the whole progress of childhood; she might need instruction, but she wanted no persuasion; and I have been often told that she never once, in the whole course of her education, gave any occasion to reprove her; so naturally did she go into every thing that was good, often before she knew it, and always after she once understood it.

She was but growing out of childhood, when she went among strangers: but she went under the guard of so exact a conduct, and so much discretion; she expressed such a gentleness, access to her was so easy, and her deportment was so obliging; her life was such an example, and her charity was so free, that perhaps no age ever had such an instance. Never was there such an universal love and esteem (one is tempted to seek for other words, if language did afford them,) paid to any, as she had from persons of all ranks and conditions, in the united provinces. It was like transport and rapture. The veneration was so profound, that how just soever it might be, it seemed rather excessive. Neither her foreign birth, nor regal extraction, neither the diversity of interests or opinions, nor her want of power and treasure equal to her bounty, diminished the respects that were offered her even from a people whose constitution gives them naturally a jealousy of too great a merit in those who are at the head of their government.

I am afraid to enlarge too much on the justice that was done her in these parts, or on that universal mourning with which her departure from them was followed; that seemed scarce capable of an addition, till now that there has appeared so black a gloom of desponding sorrow spread among them all; despair and death seeming to dwell on every face, when the dreadful news flew over to them. I am afraid, I say, to dwell too much on this, lest it may seem to reproach those who owed her much more.

In her character, ordinary things, how singular soever she might be in them, must be thrown into the heap. She was a gentle mistress, a kind friend, (if this word is too low for her state, it is not too low for her humility,) and above all, she was so tender and so respectful a wife, that she seemed to go beyond the perfectest ideas that wit or invention has been able to rise to. The lowest condition of life, or the greatest inequality of fortune, has not afforded so perfect a pattern. Tenderness and complacency seemed to strive which of them should be the more eminent. She had no higher satisfaction in the prospect of greatness that was descending on her, than that it gave her an occasion of making him a present worthy of himself. Nor had crowns or thrones any charm in them, that was so pleasant to her, as that they raised him to a greatness which he so well

deserved, and could so well maintain. She was all zeal and rapture, when any thing was to be done that could either express affection or shew respect to him. She obeyed with more pleasure than the most ambitious could have when they command. This subject is too hard to be well set out, and so it must be left in general and larger expressions.

Those who served her, can never give over, when they are relating the instances of her gentleness to them all. She was so soft when she gave her orders, and so careful of not putting too much upon them; so tender of them in their sickness and afflictions, so liberal on many different occasions, that as the instances are innumerable, so they have peculiarities in them, which shew that every thing in her was of a piece with the rest. She shewed a sensibility at the death of those whom she particularly valued, that persons of so exalted a condition do generally think may misbecome them. The many tears that she shed upon the death of our good Primate, who got the start of her a very few days, shewed how well she understood his worth, and how much she valued it.

So careful she was of all that belonged to her, that when she saw what her last sickness was like to grow to, she made those, who had not yet gone through it, withdraw. She would suffer

none of them to stay about her, when their attendance might endanger their own health; and yet she was so tender of them, when they fell under that so justly dreaded illness, that she would not suffer them to be removed, though they happened to be lodged very near herself.

Her bounty and her compassions had great matter given them to work upon. And how wide soever her sphere may have been, she went in this rather beyond her strength, than kept within it. Those generous Confessors and exiles whom the persecution of France sent over hither, as well as to the United Provinces, felt the tenderness as well as the bounty of the welcome that she gave them. The confusions of Ireland drove over multitudes, of all ranks, who fled hither for shelter, and were soon reduced to great straits, from a state of as great plenty: most of these were by her means both supported during their stay, and enabled to return home after that storm was over; the largeness of the supplies that were given, and the tender manner of giving them, made their exile both the shorter and the more tolerable: the miserable among ourselves, particularly those who suffered by the accidents of war, found in her a relief, that was easily come at, and was copiously furnished. She would never limit any from laying proper objects for her charity in her way, nor confine that care to the ministers of the almonry: she encouraged

all that were about her, or that had free access to her, to acquaint her with the necessities under which persons of true merit might languish, and she was never uneasy at applications of that kind; nor was her hand ever scanty, when the person was deserving, or the extremity was pinching. She was regular and exact in this; she found that even a royal treasure, though dispensed by a hand that was yet more royal, could not answer all demands. Therefore she took care to have a just account, both of the worth and of the necessities of those who pretended; and she shewed in this as great an exactness, and as attentive a regard, as much memory, and as much diligence, as if she had had no cares of a higher nature upon her. It seemed she kept tables or journals, for she had a method in it with which nobody was ever acquainted, as far as I could learn. It was very reasonable to believe that she took notes, and set rules to herself in this matter.

But she was so exact to the rule of the Gospel, of managing it with deep secrecy, that none knew what or to whom she gave, but those whom she was forced to employ in it. When it was to fall on persons who had access to her, her own hand was the conveyance; what went through other hands, was charged on them with an injunction of secrecy. And she herself was so far from speaking of such things, that when some persons

were offered to her charity, who had been already named by others, and were relieved by herself, she would not let those who spake to her upon the fame of their being in want, understand any thing of the notice that had been already taken of it; but either she let the thing pass in silence, or if the necessity was represented as heavier than she had understood it to be, a new supply was given, without so much as a hint of what had gone before.

But how good soever she was in herself, she carried a heavy load upon her mind; the deep sense that she had of the guilt and judgments that seemed to be hanging over us, as no doubt it gave her many afflicting thoughts in the presence of God, so it broke often out in many sad strains, to those to whom she gave her thoughts a freer vent. The impieties and blasphemies, the open contempt of religion, and the scorn of virtue, that she heard of from so many hands, and in so many different corners of the nation, gave her a secret horror, and offered so black a prospect, that it filled her with melancholy reflections, and engaged her into much secret mourning. This touched her the more sensibly when she at any time heard that some, who pretended to much zeal for the Crown, and the present establishment, seemed from thence to think they had some right to be indulged in their licentiousness, and other irregularities. She often said,

[illegible] be expected from such hands, or on any thing that must pass through them?' she longed to see a set of men of integrity and probity, of generous tempers and public spirits, in whose hands the concerns of the Crown and nation might be lodged with reasonable hopes of success, and of a blessing from above upon their services. She had a just esteem of all persons as she found them truly virtuous and religious; nor could any other considerations have a great effect upon her, when these were wanting. She made a great difference between those that were convinced of the principles of religion, how fatally soever they might be shut up from having their due effect on them, and those who had quite thrown them off; where these were quite extinguished, no hope was left, nor foundation to build upon; but where they remained, how feeble or inactive soever, there was a seed still within them, that at some time or other, and upon some happy occasion might shoot and grow. Next to open impiety, the coldness, the want of heat and life in those who pretended to religion, the deadness and disunion of the whole body of Protestants, and the weakness, the humours and affectations, of some who seemed to have good intentions, did very sensibly affect her. She said often with feeling and cutting regret, 'Can such dry bones live?' when she heard what crying sins abounded in our fleets and armies, she gave such directions as seemed practicable, to those who she thought might in some

measure correct them, and she made some in very eminent stations understand, that nothing could both please, and even oblige her more, than that care should be taken to stop those growing disorders, and to reduce matters to the gravity and sobriety of former times. The last great project that her thoughts were working on, with relation to a noble and royal provision for maimed and decayed seamen, was particularly designed to be so constituted as to put them in a probable way of ending their days in the fear of God. Every new hint that way was entertained by her with a lively joy; she had some discourse on that head, the very day before she was taken ill. It gave her a sensible concern, to hear that Ireland was scarce got out of its miseries, when it was returning to the levities, and even to the abominations of former times; she spake of those things like one that was trembling and sinking under the weight of them. She took particular methods to be well informed of the state of our plantations, and of those colonies that we have among infidels; but it was no small grief to her, to hear that they were but too generally a reproach to the religion by which they were named: (I do not say which they professed, for many of them seem scarce to profess it:) she gave a willing ear to a proposition that was made for erecting schools, and the founding of a college among them. She considered the whole scheme of it, and the endowment which was desired for it. It was a noble

one, and was to rise out of some branches of the revenue, which made it liable to objections; but she took care to consider the whole thing so well, that she herself answered all objections, and espoused the matter with so affectionate a concern, that she prepared it for the King to settle it at his coming over. She knew how heartily he concurred in all designs of that nature, though other more pressing cares denied him the opportunities of considering them so much; she digested and prepared them for him; and as she knew how large a share of zeal his Majesty had for good things, she took care also to give him the largest share of the honour of them. Nor indeed could any thing inflame her more, than the prospect of setting religion forward, especially where there were hopes of working upon infidels; though, after all, the infidels at home seemed to be more incurable and desperate than those abroad.

Her concern and her charity was not limited to that which might seem to be her own immediate province; and was more especially put under her care. The foreign Churches had also a liberal share of it. She was not insensible of the kindness of the Dutch; she remembered it always with a grateful tenderness, and as heartily touched with all their concerns. The refugees of France were considered by her as those whom God had sent to sit safe under her shadow, and easy through her

favour. Those scattered remnants of our elder sister, that had been hunted out of their valleys, were again brought together by their Majesties' means. It was the King's powerful intercession that restored them to their seats, as well as to their edicts; and it was the Queen's charity that formed them into bodies, and put them in the method of enjoying those advantages, and of transmitting them down to the succeeding ages. She took care also of preserving the little that was left of the Bohemian Churches; she had formed nurseries of religion in some of the parts of Germany which were exhausted by war, and disabled to carry on the education of their youth, and to transmit to the next age the faith which they themselves professed.

Such was the temper of our blessed Queen; these were the earnests of what we expected from her: they had been a full return of the most promising expectations in any other, but in her they were only earnests of what we looked for. It was but the dawning of her day; the mists and clouds rose so thick upon it, the disorders of war did so obstruct many great designs, that her light was much intercepted,—it could not shine through; she understood well the decencies of things,—they were beautiful in their seasons,—and they would not have had so fair an appearance, if they had come before the proper time, and the other circumstances that might fit them. She seemed to have

many years before her; her youth was that which added this particular happiness to all the other blessings that we had in her, that we thought we were secure in a long continuance of it. We flattered ourselves with the hopes of a reign that should have been lasting. The hopes of that made us neither to doubt nor fear any thing else. What generous or abstracted thoughts soever we may have in speculation, self-love lies so near us, that after all, we are chiefly concerned for our own times. We think we may more easily deliver over the concerns of the next age to those who are to live in it. It seems to be the voice of nature that Hezekiah said, 'Good is the word of the Lord, that peace and truth shall be in my days.' Therefore when the prospect of a fixed happiness goes farther than the reasonable prospect of our own continuance here, we think we ourselves are very safe. It is also a delightful thought to one that considers how much all things are out of joint, and into what disorder they have fallen, to hope that so dexterous a hand was like to have so long a course of life before her, for putting every thing again into proper methods, and in regular channels; and that might have lived till the nation had put on another face, till we had recovered our ancient virtue, as well as our much blasted fame; till religion had been not only secured, but raised to such a degree, as to have shined out from us through the whole earth, with a benign influence on all the foreign churches; as well as

with a dreadful one towards the Roman Church; (I mean not the dreadfulness of cruelty; that is her own character, which we still leave entire to her: I mean the dazzling her with the brightness of virtue and religion among us,) and till public liberty had been settled upon a true basis. I mean the authority of a well-balanced and well-conducted government, that should have maintained property, and have asserted the generous principles of the freedom of human nature; that should have dispensed justice, and rewarded virtue, with a gentle but steady hand; and have repressed the luxuriant pretensions of those, who understand public liberty so little, as not to be able to distinguish it from licentiousness; which strikes first at religion and virtue, and then must soon fall with its own burthen, under the misery of usurpations at home, or become an easy prey to foreign conquerors. A corrupted state of mankind is well prepared to be a scene of slavery. Liberty cannot be maintained, but by virtue, temperance, moderate desires, and contented minds; and since those are not to be attained to but by religion, this is an uncontested truth, that liberty and religion live and die together.

All this and a deal more, both with relation to ourselves, and to all that are round about us, was that which we thought we had a right to expect from the continuance of such a reign: we

thought that God had formed her by so many peculiar characters, and conducted her by so many happy providences, that from all these we had some right to conclude, that it would be lasting. The appearances were of our side; for though she tempered the cheerfulness of youth with the gravity of age, and the seriousness even of old age,—yet youth still smiled in her countenance with so fresh an air, that we thought nature had not gone half its way, and had yet a long career to run. So firm a health, so regular a course of life, and so calm a temper,—that exactness of method, and punctualness to hours, seemed to add a further security to our hopes; nor did they stop under the reign or age of a Queen Elizabeth.

We felt so happy an influence from her example, as well as by her government, that even under the terror that her sickness gave us, we flattered ourselves with the hopes that God was only trying us, to give us a juster value of so inestimable a blessing, that so it might be restored to us with the more advantage, and a higher endearment. We could not let ourselves think, that so terrible a stroke was so near us. We who but a few days before had been fancying what our children's children were to see in her, were then driven to apprehend that our sun was to set, before it had attained to its noon. Then under the darkness of that thick cloud, every one begun to recollect what he had seen

and observed in her: and though some knew more than others, yet every one knew enough to strike him with amazement and sorrow. Then her whole administration, as well as the privater parts of her life was remembered; every one had somewhat to say, and all added to the common stock, and increased the general lamentation.

It is true, a veil ought here to be drawn over that which is sacred. The secrets of government are so; and must not break out, till the proper time comes of recording them, and of delivering them down to posterity: and then we know what a figure her history must make. But in this way, and under the due reserves of speaking of present things, somewhat may be ventured on, without breaking in too far. Her punctualness to hours, her patience in audiences, her gentleness in commanding, her reservedness in speaking, her caution in promising, her softness in finding fault, her readiness in rewarding, her diligence in ordering, her hearkening to all that was suggested, and the copious accounts that she gave to him whom both God and her own choice, had made her oracle, were every one of them surprising; but altogether they seemed to look rather like the idea of what ought to be, than that which could in reason be expected from any one person. It might have been supposed that her whole time must have gone to this. If many other things had been

omitted, it was that which must have been well allowed of; but that there might be a fulness of leisure for every thing, the day was early begun; she had many hours to spare; and nothing was done in haste: no hurry nor impatience appeared. Her devotions, both private and public, were not so much as shortened; and she found time enough for keeping up the cheerfulness of a Court, and for admitting all persons to her. She was not so wholly possessed by the greatest cares, that she forgot the smallest. Those who are exact in little things, generally trifle in great ones; and those who mind great things, think they have a right to neglect smaller ones: they think they should rather be lessened if they were too exact in them. But it was a new thing to see one who never forgot things which she herself esteemed but trifles, and which she managed with so becoming a grace, that even in these she preserved her own character,—yet to carry on the great concerns of government with so firm a conduct, and such an air of Majesty.

If any thing was ever found in her that might seem to fall too low, it was that her humility and modesty did really depress her too much in her own eyes: And that she might too soon be made to think that the reasons which were offered to her by others, were better than her own. But even this was only in such matters in which the want of practice might make that

modest distrust seem more reasonable, and when she did see nothing in that which was before her, in which conscience had any share: for whensoever that appeared, she was firm and unmoveable.

Her administration had a peculiar happiness attending on it; we had reason to believe that it went the better with us upon her account. There was somewhat in herself that disarmed many of her enemies: such of them as came near her, were soon conquered by her; while the dexterity and secrecy of her conduct defeated the designs of those who were restless and implacable. We seemed once to be much exposed: unprosperous accidents at sea gave our enemies the appearance of a triumph; they lay along our coasts, and were for some time the masters of our seas. But a secret guard seemed then to environ us: all the harm that they did us, in one instance of barbarity that shewed what our general treatment might probably have been, if we had become a prey to them, did us little hurt; it seemed rather suffered by heaven, to unite us against them. The nation lost no courage by it; their zeal was the more inflamed. This was her first essay of government; but then, she, who upon ordinary occasions, was not out of countenance to own a fear that did not misbecome her, did now, when a visible danger threatened her, shew a firmness of mind, and a composedness of

behaviour, that made the men of the clearest courage ashamed of themselves. She covered the inward apprehensions that she had with such an equality of behaviour, that she seemed afraid of nothing, when she had reason to fear the worst that could happen. She was resolved, if things should have gone to extremities, to have ventured herself with her people, and either to have preserved them, or to have perished with them.

This was such a beginning of the exercise of royal power, as might for ever have given her a disgust of it. She seemed all the while to possess her soul in patience; and to live in a constant resignation of herself to the will of God, without any anxiety concerning events. The happy news of a great victory, and of a greater preservation of His Majesty's sacred person from the surest instruments of death, which seemed to be sent with that direction, that it might shew the immediate watchfulness of Providence about him, did soon change the scene, and put another face on our affairs. She only seemed the least changed; she looked more cheerful, but with the same tranquillity: the appearances of it had never left her. Nor was it a small addition to her joy, that another person, for whom she still retained profound regards, was also preserved. She was a true Sabine in the case: and though she was no part of the cause of the war, yet she would willingly have sacrificed her own life, to

have preserved either of those, that seemed to be then in danger. She spake of that matter, two days after the news came, with so tender a sense of the goodness of God to her, in it, that it drew tears from her: and then she freely confessed, that her heart had trembled, not so much from the apprehension of the danger that she herself was in, as from the scene that was then in action at the Boyne: God had heard her prayers, and she blessed him for it, with as sensible a joy, as for any thing that had ever happened to her.

The next season of her administration concluded the reduction of Ireland. The expectations of success there were once so much sunk, that it seemed that that island was to be yet for another year a field of blood, and a heap of ashes. She laid the blame of this in a great measure on the licentiousness and other disorders, that she heard had rather increased than abated among them. A sudden turn came from a bold but necessary resolution, that was executed as gallantly as it was generously undertaken. In the face of a great army, a handful of men passed a deep river, forced a town, and made the enemy to retire in haste. All posterity will reckon this among the most signal performances of war. An instance that shewed how far courage could go, and what brave men, well led on, could do. A great victory followed a few days after: the success of the action was at so

long and so doubtful a stand, that there was just reason to believe, that pure hands lifted up to heaven, might have great influence, and might have given the turn: from that time success was less doubtful. All was concluded with the happy reduction of the whole island. The reflections that she made on this, looked the same way that all her thoughts did. "Our forces elsewhere, both at sea and land, were thought to be considerable, and so promising, that we were in great hopes of somewhat that might be decisive; only Ireland was apprehended to be too weakly furnished, for a concluding campaign: yet so different are the methods of Providence from human expectations, that nothing memorable happened any where, but only in Ireland, where little or nothing was expected."

She was again at the helm when we were threatened with a descent, and an invasion; which was conducted with that secrecy, that we were in danger of being surprised by it, when our preparations at sea were not finished, and our force at land was not considerable. The struggle was like to have been formidable: and there was a particular violence to be done to herself, by reason of him, who was to have conducted it. Then we felt new proofs of the watchfulness of Heaven. What comes immediately from causes that fall not under human counsels, nor can be redressed by skill or force, may well be ascribed to

the specialties of Providence; and the rather, if nature seems to go out of its course, and seasons change their ordinary face. A long uninterrupted continuance of boisterous weather, that came from the point that was most contrary to their designs, made the project impracticable. A succession of turns of weather followed after that, happily to us, and as fatally to them; while the same wind that stopped their fleets, joined ours. It went not out of that direction, till it ended in one of the most glorious actions that ever England had; and then those who were brought together to invade us, were forced to be the melancholy spectators of the destruction of the best part of that fleet on which all their hope was built. In that, without detracting either from the gallantry of our men or the conduct of our admiral, it must be acknowledged that Providence had the largest share: and if we may presume to enter into those secrets, and to judge of the hidden causes of them, we may well conclude that her piety and her prayers contributed not a little to it.

She bore success with the same decency that appeared when the sky seemed to be more clouded. So firm a situation of mind as she had, seemed to be above the power of accidents of any sort whatsoever. Clouds returned again in another year of her administration: though not with a face that was quite so black, she thought God was angry with us; and it was not

hard to find out a reason to justify the severest of his Providences.

It seemed much more accountable that our affairs should have met with some unhappy interruptions, than that so many blessings should have attended upon us. She had a tender sense of any thing that looked like a miscarriage, under her conduct, and was afraid lest some mistake of hers might have occasioned it. When difficulties grew too hard to be extricated, and that she felt an uneasiness in them, she made God her refuge; and though she had neither the principles nor the temper of an enthusiast, yet she often owned that she felt a full calm upon her thoughts, after she had given them a free vent before God in prayer.

When sad accidents came from the immediate hand of heaven, particularly on the occasion of a great loss at sea, she said, though there was no occasion for complaint or anger upon these, yet there was a juster cause of grief, since God's hand was to be seen so particularly in them. Sometimes she feared there might be some secret sins, that might lie at the root, and blast all: but she went soon off from that, and said, where so much was visible, there was no need of divination concerning that which might be hidden.

When the sky grew clearer, and in her more prosperous days, she was never lifted up. A great resolution was taken, which has since changed the scene very visibly; it has not only asserted a dominion over those seas which we claim as our own, but has for the present assumed a more extended empire; while we are masters both of the Ocean and Mediterranean, and have our enemies' coasts, as well as the seas, open to us. She had too tender a heart to take any real satisfaction in the destruction of their towns, or the ruin of their poor and innocent inhabitants. She spake of this with true indignation at those who had begun such practices even in full peace, or after protections had been given. She was sorry that the state of war made it necessary to restrain another Prince from such barbarities, by making himself feel the effects of them; and therefore she said, she hoped that such practices should become so odious in all that should begin them,—and by their doing so, force others to retaliate,—that for the future they should be for ever laid aside.

When her affairs had another face, she grew not secure, nor went she off from her dependance upon God. In all the pleasures of life she maintained a true indifference for the continuance of them; and she seemed to think of parting with them in so easy a manner, that it plainly appeared how little they had got into her heart: she had no occasion for these

thoughts from any other principle but a mere disgust of life, and the aspiring to a better. She apprehended she felt once or twice such indispositions upon her, that she concluded nature was working towards some great sickness; so she set herself to take full and broad views of death, that from thence she might judge how she should be able to encounter it. But she felt so quiet an indifference upon that prospect, leaning rather towards the desire of a dissolution, that she said, though she did not pray for death, yet she could neither wish nor pray against it. She left that before God, and referred herself entirely to the disposal of Providence. If she did not wish for death, yet she did not fear it.

As this was her temper when she viewed it at some distance, so she maintained the same calm, when in the closest struggle with it. Here darkness and horror fall upon me: for who can look through that scene so unconcerned as she went through it? I know, if I would write according to the rules of art, I should draw a veil here, and leave the reader to imagine that which no pen can properly express. Every thing must seem flat here, upon a subject that gives a flame too high to be either managed or described. But it is nature and not art that governs me. I will therefore go through what remains, though without the force or flight that it seems to command: I will do it, though but faintly,

with a feebleness suitable to the temper of my own mind,—without any anxious study to manage so poor a thing as the credit of writing in proportion to the sublimity of the subject. Let the matter itself speak: that will have a force, that will supply all defects.

She only was calm when all was in a storm about her: the dismal sighs of all that came near her, could not discompose her. She was rising so fast above mortality, that even he who was more to her than all the world besides, and to all whose thoughts she had been upon every other occasion entirely resigned, could not now inspire her with any desires of returning back to life. Her mind seemed to be disentangling itself from her body; and so she rose above that tenderness that went deeper in her than all other earthly things whatsoever. It seemed all that was mortal was falling off, when that could give her no uneasiness.

She received the intimations of approaching death with a firmness that did neither bend nor soften under that which has made the strongest minds to tremble. Then, when even the most artificial grow sincere, it appeared how established a calm and how sublime a piety possessed her. A ready willingness to be dissolved, and an entire resignation to the will of God, did

not forsake her one minute; nor had any thing been left to be dispatched in her last hours. Her mind was in no hurry, but soft as the still voice that seemed to be calling her soul away to the regions above; so that she made her last steps with a stability and seriousness, that how little ordinary soever they may be, were indeed the natural conclusions of such a life as she had led.

But how quiet soever she was, the news of her danger struck the whole nation, as well as the town, with so astonishing a terror, as if thunders and earthquakes had been shaking both heaven and earth. Blackness then dwelt on every face: a silent confusion of look, bursting out often into tears and sighs, was so universal, and looked with so solemn an air, that how much soever she deserved the affections of the nation, yet we never thought that she possessed them so entirely as appeared in those days of sorrow. It was a season of great joy: we were celebrating that blessed nativity that gave us all life, and the hopes of a blessed immortality. But it was a sad interruption to that sacred festivity, when we were alarmed with those frightful apprehensions. We were once revived with the hopes of a less formidable sickness. This spread a joy, that was as high and universal, as our grief had been. We were easily enough brought to flatter ourselves with the belief of that which was so

much wished for. But this went soon off; it was an ill-grounded joy: the clouds returned so much the blacker, by reason of that mistaken interval. Then all that prayed upon any account whatsoever, redoubled their fervour, and cried out, 'spare thy people, and give not thy heritage to reproach.' We prayed for ourselves more than for her, when we cried to God for her life and recovery: both priest and people, rich and poor,—all ranks and sorts joined in this litany. A universal groan was echoed to those prayers, through our churches and streets. We were afraid to ask after that sacred health, and yet we were impatient to know how it stood. It seemed our sins cried louder than our prayers; they were heard, and not the other.

But how severely soever God intended to visit us, she was gently handled; she felt no inward depression nor sinking of nature. She then declared that she felt in her mind the joys of a good conscience and the powers of religion, giving her supports which even the last agonies could not shake: her constant softness to all about her never left her. That was indeed natural to her; but by it all saw visibly that nothing could put her mind out of its natural situation, and usual methods. A few hours before she breathed her last, when he who ministered to her in the best things, had continued in a long attendance about her, she was so free in her thoughts, that apprehending he might be

weary, she commanded him to sit down; and repeated her orders till he obeyed them: a thing too mean in itself to be mentioned, but that it shewed the presence of her mind, as well as the sweetness of her temper. Prayer was then her constant exercise, as oft as she was awake; and so sensible was the refreshment that her mind found in it, that she thought it did her more good, and gave even her body more ease, than any thing that was done to her. Nature sunk apace: she resolved to furnish herself with the great Viaticum of Christians, the last provisions for her journey: she received the blessed Sacrament with a devotion that inflamed, as well as it melted all those who saw it: after that great act of Church communion was over, she delivered herself up so entirely to meditation, that she seemed scarce to mind any thing else. She was then upon the wing. Such was her peace in her latter end, that though the symptoms shewed that nature was much oppressed, yet she scarce felt any uneasiness from it. It was only from what she perceived was done to her, and from those intimations that were given her, that she judged her life to be in danger; but she scarce knew herself to be sick, by any thing that she felt at heart. Her bearing so much sickness with so little emotion, was for a while imputed to that undisturbed quiet and patience in which she possessed her soul: but when she repeated it so often, that she felt herself well inwardly, then it appeared that there was a

particular blessing in so easy a conclusion of a life, that had been led through a great variety of accidents with a constant equality of temper.

The last and hardest step is now to be made: our imaginations, which must still be full of the noblest and augustest ideas of her, may be apt to represent her to our thoughts as still alive, with all those graces of majesty and sweetness that always accompanied her. But, alas! we are but too sure that all this is the illusion of fancy. She has left us; she is gone to those blessed seats above, where even crowns and thrones are but small matters, compared to that brighter glory, which rises far above the splendour of triumphs, processions, and coronations.

The measuring of so great a change, and so vast an advancement, in its full latitude, as it is the properest thought to mitigate our sorrows, so it seems to be too lively a one for us now, and above what we are capable of in our present depression. This may make us conclude with a sudden transport of joy, that she is happy, unspeakably happy, by the change; and has risen much higher above what she herself was a little while ago, than she was then above the rest of mortals.

But black and genuine horror still returns, and seems to

wrap us, and all things about us with so thick a mist, that so bright a thought, as that of her present glory, cannot break through it. While we are persuaded of her happiness, and that she has gained infinitely by the change, yet self-love is so strong, and sense makes so powerful an impression, that when we consider what we have lost in losing her, we sink under our burthen, dispirited, as if our life and joy were gone with her,—as if black night, and lasting winter had chilled all our blood, and damped all our powers.

It might seem a needless severity to aggravate all this, as if we were not enough loaded already,—but that a further black scene must be opened, and that we must be filled with the gloomy prospect of that which we may but too justly and too reasonably look for. God seems to be making a way for his anger; and to be removing that interposition which we have reason to believe did effectually stop those miseries, for which we may well fear that we are more than ripe.

We are not quite abandoned: God does still preserve him to us, by whose means only, considering our present circumstances, we can hope either to be safe or happy. That duty and respect which was before divided, does now centre all in him. All that we payed her, does now devolve to him, by a title that becomes

so much the juster, because we have all seen (I wish we may not feel it,) how deep a wound this made on him, whose mind has appeared hitherto invulnerable, and where firmness seemed to be the peculiar character. It is indeed but natural that he who knew her best should value her most. The best tribute that we can offer to the ashes of our blessed Queen, is to double our duty and our zeal to him whom she loved so entirely, and in whom her memory is still so fresh, that though for our own sakes we must be concerned to see it sink so deep, yet for his sake, we cannot but be pleased to see how much his character rises by the just acknowledgments he pays her, and by that deep affliction for her loss, which has almost overwhelmed a mind, that had kept its ground in the hardest shocks of fortune, but lost it here.

If our apprehensions of his sacred life grow now more tender, and we feel more sensibly than formerly that it is he who makes us safe at home, as well as great abroad; if we do now see, what is that interposition that is now left, and that keeps off misery and destruction from breaking in upon us as the sea, to swallow us up; if that life itself is so often exposed, that this creates a new cloud upon our minds, gloomy and black, as if charged with storm and thunder; if all this gives us a melancholy prospect, we know that nothing can divert or dissipate it, but our turn-

ing from our sins, which lay us so naked, which have brought one severe stroke already on us, and by which God may be yet further provoked to visit us again. Another stroke must make an end of us.

To conclude.

The truest as well as the usefullest way of lamenting this loss is, after that we have given somewhat to nature, and have let sorrow have a free course, then to recollect our thoughts, and to study to imitate those virtues and perfections which we admired in her, and for which her memory must be ever precious among us; precious, as ointment poured forth, ever savoury and fragrant.

Her death has indeed spread a melting tenderness, and a flowing sorrow over the whole nation, beyond any thing we ever saw,—which does in some measure bear a proportion to the just occasion of it: how dismal soever this may look, yet it is some satisfaction to see that just respects are paid her memory, and that our mournings are as deep as they are universal. They have broke out in the solemnest as well as in the decentest manner: those august bodies that represent the whole, began them; and from them they have gone round the nation, in genuine and native strains, free and not emendicated. But if

this should have its chief and best effect, to drive the impressions of religion and the terrors of God, deeper into us, then we might hope, that even this fatal stroke, as terrible and threatening as it now looks, might produce great and even happy effects; so different may events be from the causes, or at least from the occasions of them.

How lowering soever the sky may now seem, a general repentance, and a sincere reformation of manners, would soon give it another face: it would break through those clouds that seem now to be big, and even ready to burst. This is too much to be expected; yet if there were but a few that did heartily go into good designs, even they might procure to us a lengthening out of our tranquillity, and a mitigation of our miseries,—and that though they were fixed on us by irreversible decrees. A number of true mourners might hope at least to stop their course, till they themselves should die in peace; or they might look for a milder fate, if they should happen to be involved in a common calamity.

"Mark the perfect, and behold the upright, for their end is peace."

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

LETTERS

FROM QUEEN MARY TO KING WILLIAM

WHILE IN IRELAND.

HER VEXATION AT HIS LEAVING HER.

WHITEHALL, *June* 29, 1690.

You will be weary of seeing every day a letter from me, it may be; yet being apt to flatter myself, I will hope you will be as willing to read as I to write. And indeed it is the only comfort I have in this world, besides that of trust in God. I have nothing to say to you at present that is worth writing, and I think it unreasonable to trouble you with my grief, which I must continue while you are absent, though I trust every post to hear some good news or other from you; therefore I shall make this very short, and only tell you I have got a swelled face, though not quite so bad yet, as it was in Holland five years ago. I believe it came by standing too much at the window, when I took the waters. I cannot enough thank God for your being so well past the dangers of the sea; I beseech him in his mercy still to preserve you so, and send us once more a happy meeting upon earth. I long to hear again from you how the air of Ireland agrees with you, for I must own I am not without my fears for that, loving you so entirely as I do, and shall till death.

COMPLAINS OF THE QUEEN DOWAGER.

WHITEHALL, *July* 1, 1690.

I RECEIVED yesterday, with great joy, your dear letter of the $\frac{2}{12}$th, from Belfast, from whence I see you intended, if pleased God, to march last Thursday. I pray God you may still find the Irish air better and better; I hope he will of his mercy give you all the success we can desire. I must now tell you a thing myself at large, which I suppose you may have heard of last post; for after I had writ my letter and sent it away, Lord Nott.[ingham] lord chamberlain, and Lord Marlborough came to me. The lords of the cabinet council had recommended some persons to be reprieved in order to transportation; and Lord Ch.[ancellor] pressed extremely that M'Guire might be pardoned. I told him, that having spoke to you about him, the last answer you gave was, that he must be hanged, having deserved it; but he assured me that you had received other information since, and would certainly pardon him were you here; so that at last I said I would consent he should be transported with the rest; which I thought was all I could do upon his importunity after what you had said. In any other case than that of a man's life, you may be sure I would not have been persuaded so far after what you had said, but I thought there was too much cruelty in refusing that for the first time. But Lord Nott. told me you had taken a resolution never to pardon burglary, and he desired that he might tell every body so, that I might be no more importuned. I shall not trouble you with every thing these lords said to me at this time, but the chief thing was that they had had the parson in examination, upon a report that Lord Feversham had forbid him saying the prayer for your success at Somerset House: Upon which he went to him, and asked him if it were his order? Lord Feversham told him, Yes: For it may be, said he, if the Q. hears this prayer is used, she may take it for a pretence to forbid any prayers at all in that place, since she is not obliged to have any thing but mass there. But this she connives at; and Lord Feversham and the rest of the Protestant servants contribute to the paying the minister, who they say is an honest man, and does not omit any thing in his parish: But he, believing he must obey Lord

Feversham, did leave it out some days; upon which many of the Q. D. servants would not go to prayers there, but told it; yet Lord Feversham, upon Wednesday last, ordered the whole office for the fast to be used. This is so unaccountable a way of proceeding, that I think there is as much folly as any thing else in it; but I was extreme angry, which those lords saw, but I shall not trouble you with it. I told them I thought there was no more measures to be kept with the Queen herself after this; that is, if it were her order, as no doubt it is; but first Lord Nott. was to send for Lord Fev. to him; I desired him to speak as angrily as it was possible, which he promised; but Lord Fev. was with him as soon as he got home, having heard the parson had been examined. He was, it seems, in pain; when Lord Nott. told him all I had said, he seemed much concerned, and desired to come, throw himself at my feet, and own all the matter as a very great fault in him, but done out of no ill design. To be short, he came yesterday in my bed-chamber, at the hour there was a great deal of company (I mean then just before dinner,) he seemed extremely concerned, lookt as pale as death, and spoke in great disorder; he said, he must own it a very great fault, since I took it so: But he begged me to believe 'twas not done out of any ill intention, nor by agreement with any body. He assured me the Queen herself knew nothing of it; he said 'twas a fault and a folly, an indiscretion, or any thing I would call it. I told him, after doing a thing of that nature, the best way was not to go about excusing it; that 'twas impossible, since to call it by the most gentle name I could give it, 'twas an unpardonable folly, and which I did not expect, after the protestations he had made; upon which he said abundance of words. I doubt whether himself knew what he meant by them, but I am sure I could make nothing of them; till at last he spoke plain enough, that I understood. He said, God pardoned sinners when they repented, so he hoped I would. I told him, God saw the hearts, whether the repentance was sincere, which since I could not do, he must not find it strange if I would trust only to actions, and so I left him. This is all I think to a syllable what I said to him, and as much as I could make sense of that he said to me; but, though I pity the poor man for being obliged thus to take the Queen Dowager's faults upon him, yet I could not bring myself to forgive him. This, I remember, I did say more,

that if it had been to myself, I could have pardoned him, but when it immediately concerned your person, I would nor could not. The Q. D. sent me a compliment yesterday, upon my swelled face (which I do not know if I have writ you word of, but yesterday I had leeches set behind my ears for it, which has done but little good, so that it mends but slowly, and one of my eyes being again sore, I am fain to write this at so many times, that I fear you will make but ill sense of it,) and will come to-day to see me, but desired when there was least company, so that I imagine she will speak something of herself; and that which inclines me the more to this opinion is, that she sent for Lord Halifax, and was shut up in her chamber about business with him, and others, the whole morning. I shall give you an account of this before I seal up my letter. In the mean while I shall tell you, that having had a letter from M. Schulemburgh, about his money, without which, he and M. des Marests both write me word, his credit is lost. I spoke of it this morning at the cabinet council, and Lord Nott. had also a letter from Mr. Eccart, about the same. Lord Marlborough took great care to shew that honour was engaged, and a great many more consequences of it. I suppose an exact account is given you of all this, so that I need say no more, but that I hope I have done well to press it as much as may be: 'tis resolved to give an answer next Tuesday. Lord Fitzharding, having at present no estate in Somersetshire, and not living there, fears he may not be so able to serve you as he ought, therefore, if you please, will be content with the *custos rotulorum*, without the lieutenancy. Upon this occasion I shall only name one who desired it, though I told him I was engaged to speak for another, that is the D. of Bolton, who I think will lose nothing for want of asking; but upon my answer, he told me it was not for himself, but his son Winchester, he would have it. The Q. Dow. has been here, but did not stay a moment, nor spake two words; since she went I have been in the garden, and find my face pretty well; but it is now candle-light, therefore I dare say no more. I have still the same complaint to make, that I have not time to cry, which would a little ease my heart; but I hope in God I shall have such news from you as will give me no reason. Yet your absence is enough, but since it pleases God, I must have patience. Do but continue to love me, and I can bear all things else with ease.

I send you the letter of M. D. Ablancourt, because I don't know who he means, and 'tis so short 'twill take you up no time to read.

Lord Marlborough tells me 'tis almost time to think of the proroguing the Parliament. I wish you would give yourself the trouble to write your mind very particularly upon the subject.

UPON THE ARRIVAL OF THE FRENCH FLEET ON THE COAST.

WHITEHALL, *July* 2, 1690.
half 11 at night.

THE news which is come to-night of the French fleet being upon the coast, makes it thought necessary to write to you both ways; and I, that you may see how matters stand in my heart, prepare a letter for each. I think Lord Torrington has made no haste; and I cannot tell whether his being sick, and staying for Lord Pembroke's regiment, will be a sufficient excuse. But I will not take up your time with my reasonings; I shall only tell you, that I am so little afraid, that I begin to fear I have not sense enough to apprehend the danger; for whether it threatens Ireland, or this place, to me 'tis much at one, as to the fear; for as much a coward as you think me, I fear more for your dear person than my poor carcass. I know who is most neccessary in the world. What I fear most at present is not hearing from you. Love me whatever happens, and be assured I am ever entirely yours till death.

UPON THE SAME SUBJECT.

WHITEHALL, *July* 2, 1690.
at half 10 at night.

As I was ready to go into my bed, Lord Nott. came and brought me a letter, of which he is going to give you an account; for my own part, I shall

say nothing to it, but that I trust God will preserve us, you where you are, and poor I here. Methinks Lord Torrington has made no haste; they say he stays for Lord Pembroke's regiment. He also has not been very quick, for he received it at 8 this evening, and kept it till now, that he has sent it open to Lord Nott. I thank God I am not much afraid; I think too little; which makes me fear 'tis want of apprehending the danger. That which troubles me most in all things is your absence, and the fear I am in something may be done to hinder us from hearing from you; in that case I don't know what will become of us. I still trust in God, who is our only help. Farewell, I will trouble you with no more, but only desire you, whatsoever happens, to love me as I shall you to death.

UPON THE SAME SUBJECT.

WHITEHALL, *July* 4, 1690.

SINCE I writ to you about the coming of the French fleet upon the coast, the lords have been very busy. I shall not go about to give you an account of things, but shall tell you some particular passages. One happened to-day, at the great council, where I was by their advice; and when they had resolved to seize upon suspected persons, in naming them, Sir H. Capel would have said something for Lord Clarendon (whose first wife you know was his sister;) every body stared at him, but nobody preparing to answer, which I thought they would not do may be in my regard, I ventured to speak, and tell Sir H. Cap. that I believed every body knew as I did, that there was too much against him to leave him out of the list that was making. I can't tell if I ought to have said this; but when I knew your mind upon it, and had seen his letter, I believed it as necessary he should be clapt up as any, and therefore thought myself obliged to say so; but as I do not know when I ought to speak and when not, I am as silent as can be; and if I have done it now *mal à propos*, I am sorry, but I could not help it, though, at the same time, I must own I am sorryer, than it maybe will be believed, for him, finding the Dutch

proverb true, which you know, but I should spoil in writing. Lord Monmouth and his officers were with me yesterday, with their declaration, as they call it, about which I writ to you before. I hope the easterly wind is the only cause I do not hear from you, which I am very impatient for now; and when I consider that you may be got a great way if you began to march last Thursday, I am in a million of fears, not knowing when you may be in danger. That alone is enough to make me the greatest pain imaginable, and in comparison of which all things else are not to be named; yet, by a letter from Lord Torrington, dated at 3 yesterday in the afternoon, I see he thought this day was like to decide a great deal there. I cannot but be in pain; it may be I do not reason just upon the matter, but I fear besides the disheartening many people, the loss of a battle would be such an encouragement to disaffected ones, that might put things here in disorder, which in your absence would be a terrible thing; but I thank God I trust in him, and that is really the only consolation I have. I was last night at Highpark for the first time since you went. It swarmed with those who are now ordered to be clapt up. Yesterday Lord Fev. came to Lord Nott. to tell him he had put Q. D. off of the Hamburg voyage; but she would go to the Bath; after which he came again, and said that seeing it might now be inconvenient to have guards there, she desired to go to Islington, but Lord Marl. desired the answer might not be given a day or two till we have heard something of the success of the fleet. Since I have writ this, I was called out to Lord Nott. who brought me your dear letter of the $\frac{8}{18}$th, which is so welcome that I cannot express it, especially because you pity me, which I like and desire from you, and you only. As for the building, I fear there will be many obstacles; for I spoke to Sir J. Lowther this very day, and hear so much use for money, and find so little, that I cannot tell whether that of Hampton Court will not be a little the worse for it, especially since the French are in the Channel, and at present between Portland and us, from whence the stone must come; but in a day or two, I hope to give you a more certain account, this being only my own conjecture. God be praised that you are so well—I hope in his mercy he will continue it. I have been obliged to write this evening to M. Schulemberg to desire him to advance money for the six regiments to march, which they say is absolutely

necessary for your service as well as honour. The Lords of the Treasury have made me pawn my word for it, and that to-morrow 20,000 pounds will be paid him. It is now candle-light, and I dare say no more but that I am ever and entirely yours.

COMPLAINS OF BEING NEGLECTED BY THE MINISTERS.

WHITEHALL, *July* 6, 1690.

BY this express I shall write freely and tell you what great suspicions increase continually of Major Wildman. Lord Nottingham, I believe, will by the same write to Sir R. Southwell, that upon any extraordinary thing which might be necessary to be kept a secret, he should send him an express directed immediately to him. It would be too long to tell you all the reasons of suspicion, but this one instance I will give, that since your going from hence there is not one word come from Scotland, neither from Lord Melvin, nor Colonel Mackay, to Lord Marlborough, which methinks seems unaccountable, though it is this day 3 weeks since Lord Nottingham writ pressingly for a speedy answer. Yet Lord Monmouth has letters, and gives intelligence which does not always prove true. I told Lord Nottingham that I thought the only way was to send an express, that he write to Lord Melvin, and Lord Marlborough to Mackay, and let them know they have not once heard from them. Upon this Lord President and Lord Nottingham desired I would also sign letters to the governors of Berwick and Carlisle, not to let any persons go by who had not a pass, that they should stop the mails, and send word how many were come from thence in this time. This I have done, and the express is to be immediately sent away. I ever fear not doing well, and trust to what nobody says but you, therefore hope it will have your approbation. It is a strange thing, that last night Sir R. Holmes writ to Lord Nott. and Mr. Blaithwait both, that the fleets were briskly engaged, which he could see from the hills, which letter was writ at 6 yesterday morning, since which we have not a word from him; but another to Sir H. Goodricke from Portsmouth,

dated at 3 in the afternoon, assures then there had been no engagement, but some shooting between the scouts. What to think of this nobody knows, but it seems to me every one is afraid of themselves, for Sir R. H. desires mightily some succours, or else the Isle of Wight is lost. Lord Bath is very backward in going down, but with much ado he sends his son, who only says he stays for a letter of mine, which is signed this morning, to impower him to command at Plymouth in his father's absence, which he tells me you promised before you went, and it is upon your leave Lord Bath pretends to stay here till the term is over; but I told him I supposed you had not foreseen the French being so near. D. of Bolton also tells me last night, you had given him leave to raise some horse volunteers, for which he should have had a commission, but that you went away, therefore he would have me give it; but I put it off, and Lord Marlborough advises me not to give it. Lord President some time since told me the same thing, but I will not give any positive answer till you send me your directions. I must also give you an account of what Lord Nott. told me yesterday; he said Lord Stuard was very angry at Lord Torrington's deferring the fight, and proposed that somebody should be joined in commission with him. But that the other Lords said could not be done, so Lord Monmouth offered to take one whose name I have forgot; he is newly made I think commissioner of the navy, and as Lord Nottingham tells me, you had thoughts of having him command the fleet if Lord Torrington had not: this man Lord Monmouth proposed to take and go together on board Lord Torrington's ship as volunteers, but with a commission about them to command in case he should be killed. I told Lord Nott. I was not willing to grant any commission of that nature, not knowing whether you had ever had any thoughts of that kind, so that I thought he was only to be thankt for his offer; I added that I could not think it proper, that he being one of the nine you had named, should be sent away, upon which he laughed and said, that was the greatest compliment I could make him, to say I could not use his arms, having need of his counsell. I suppose they are not very good friends, but I said it really as I meant, and besides to hinder propositions of this kind for Mr. Russell; for I see Lord Carmarthen has upon several occasions to me alone, mentioned the sending Mr. Russell, and I believe it was only to be rid of him; for my part, after

what you told me of all the nine, I should be very sorry to have him from hence. Lord M. indeed I think might as well be spared, but I do not think it was your intention any of those nine should be out of the way; I desire you would say something to this that I may know your mind in case of necessity; and indeed it would be well it was known also in Lord Torrington's regard, for he may die as well as another man: And now I have named Mr. Russell, I must tell you that at your first going, he did not come to me, nor I believe to this hour, would not have asked to have spoke with me, had not I told Lady Russell one day, I desired it. When he came I told him freely that I desired to see him sometimes, for being a stranger to business I was afraid of being too much led or persuaded by one party. He said he was very glad to find me of that mind, and assured me since I gave him that liberty, he would come when he saw occasion, though he would not be troublesome. I hope I did not do amiss in this, and indeed I saw at that time nobody but Lord President, and was afraid of myself. Lord Carmarthen is upon all occasions afraid of giving me too much trouble, and thinks by little and little to do all; every one sees how little I know of business, and therefore I believe, will be apt to do as much as they can. Lord Marlborough advised me to resolve to be present as often as possible, out of what intention I cannot judge, but I find they meet often at the secretary's office, and do not take much pains to give me an account. This I thought fit to tell you; pray be so kind to answer me as particular as you can. Queen D. has been to take her leave, in order to going to Hammersmith, where she will stay till she can go for Windsor. I have tired you with this long letter, and it is now stayed for; I shall say no more, but beg you to believe it is impossible to love more than I do,—don't love me lesse.

ON LORD TORRINGTON DECLINING TO FIGHT.

WHITEHALL, *July* 8, 1690.
At 8 o'clock in the morning.

SEEING I cannot always write when I will, I must do it when I can, and that upon some things which happened yesterday; as for Lord Torrington's letter,

you will have an account of that and the answer from Lord Nott. I shall tell you as far as I could judge what the others did. Lord Carmarthen was with me when Lord Nott. brought the letter; he was mighty hot upon sending Mr. Russell down to the fleet; I confess I saw, as I thought, the ill consequence of that, having heard you say they were not good friends, and believing Lord Torrington being in the post he is in, and of his humour, ought not to be provoked; besides, I do believe Lord President was willing to be rid of Mr. R. and I had no mind to that; so I said what I could against it, and found most of the lords of my mind when they met, but Lord Monmouth was not with them. Mr. Russell drew up a pretty sharp letter for us to sign; but it was softened, and the only dispute was, whether he should have a positive order to fight. At last it was wrote in such terms as you will see, to which all agreed but Lord Steward, who said it was his duty to tell his thoughts upon a subject of this consequence, which was, that he believed it very dangerous to trust Lord Torrington with the fate of three kingdoms (this was his expression,) and that he was absolutely of opinion, that some other should be joined in commission with him; to which Mr. Russell answered, you must send for him prisoner then; and all the rest concluded it would breed too much disturbance in the sight of the enemy, and would be of dangerous consequence. So the letter was signed, and Lord Nott. writ another letter, in which he told him our other accounts we have received of the fleets from the Isle of Wight. I was no sooner a-bed but Lord Nott. came to me from the lords, who were most of them still at his office, and where Lord Monmouth was come very late, but time enough to know all. He offered his service immediately to go down post to Portsmouth, so the Admiralty would give him the commission of a captain, and fit out the best ship there, which he believes he can do with more speed than another, with which he will join Lord Torrington; and being in a great passion, swears he will never come back more if they do not fight. Upon his earnest desire, and the approbation of the Lords that were present, Lord Nott. came up to ask my consent. I askt who was there, and finding four besides Lord Monmouth and Lord Nott., of which I remember but three, which were Lord President, Lord Steward and Sir John Lowther, the fourth was either Lord Pemb. or Lord Marl. I thought in myself they were two-thirds

of the committee, so would carry it if it were put to the vote; therefore, seeing they were as earnest as he for it, I thought I might consent; besides, I own to you I had a thought immediately upon it, which I would not own, tho' I find some of them have the same, that the lemon letters, which I suppose you have heard of, which come so constantly and are so very exact, the last of which told even the debates of the committee as well as if one of the lords themselves had writ them; this I think looks somewhat odd, and I believe makes many forward for this expedition; and for my own part, I believe he may be the best spared of the company; tho' I think it a little irregularity, yet I hope you will excuse it, and nobody else can find fault.

10. at night. Since my writing this, there has come a great deal of news. As I was going to the cabinet council in the morning, Sir Wm. Lockhart came with a letter from the committee there: When we rose, Lord Steward told me, that he had been speaking to Mr. Seseuk upon the affairs of the times, who had made great complaint of his usage, and said so much, that he fancies he may turn informer; I doubted, but advised him to continue his discourse, as though by chance, while I should write you word to know how far you would have him engage, which I have now done, and desire your answer. Lord Monmouth was there, after having been in the city, where he has found one Major Born, I think his name is, who has the commission of captain, and not himself, he desiring his intentions to be kept as secret as may be, least he should come too late; in the mean while, his regiment's being at Portsmouth is the pretence. He made great professions at parting, and desired me to believe there are some great designs. We had another lemon letter, with things so particular, that none but some of the lords could know them; especially things that were done at the office late last night, upon which all sides are of the same mind. Before I went out of the room, I received your dear letter from Lough-bricklin, but I cannot express what I then felt, and still feel, at the thoughts that now it may be you are ready to give battle, or have done it. My heart is ready to burst. I can say nothing, but pray to God for you. This has waked me who was almost asleep, and almost puts me out of any possibility of saying any more, yet I must strive with my heart to tell you, that this afternoon the ill news of the battle of Fleury came; I had a letter

from the Prince of Waldec, with a copy of the account he sent you, so that I can say nothing, but that God, in whose hands all events only are, knows best why he has ordered it so, and to him we must submit. This evening there has been a person with me, from whom you heard at Chester (probably Earl of Broadalbin,) and whom you there ordered to come to me, as he says; he believes you will know him by this, and will by no means be named, and, what is worse, will name nobody, so that I fear there is not much good to be done, yet I won't give over so. I must end my letter, for my eyes are at present in somewhat a worse condition than before I received your letter: My impatience for another from you is as great as my love, which will not end but with my life, which is very uneasy to me at present: but I trust in God, who alone can preserve you and comfort me.

UPON THE DEFEAT AT BEACHYHEAD.

WHITEHALL, the *July* 12, 1690.
7 in the morning.

I AM sorry there is not as pleasing news to send you from hence, as what I had last from you. I would not write last night by the post, being assured the messenger this morning should overtake him, before they came to Hylake. Here has been great things done, but that so unanimously, that I hope when you have an exact account from Lord Nott. you will approve of it. I must confess I think they were in the right, but if I had not, I should have submitted my judgment where I saw all of a mind. What Lord Torrington can say for himself I know not, but I believe he will never be forgiven here; the letters from the fleet, before and since the engagement, shew sufficiently he was the only man there had no mind to fight, and his not doing it was attributed to orders from hence: Those which have been sent and obeyed have had but very ill success, the news of which is come this morning. I will not stop the messenger with staying for my letter, and 'tis unnecessary for me to say much, only as to the part of sending Mr. Russell away. I believe it was a great irregularity, and, for my own part, I was sorry to miss him here, after what you had told me, and the fear I am in of being imposed upon, but all

were for it, and I could say nothing against it; I confess I was as sorry Lord Monmouth came so soon back, for all agree in the same opinion of him. Mr. Russell was overtaken before he came to Canterbury, so the nine are again together. As for the ill success at sea, I am more concerned for the honour of the nation than any thing else; but I think it has pleased God to punish them justly, for they really talkt as if it were impossible they should be beaten, which looks too much like trusting in the arm of flesh: I pray God we may no more deserve the punishment; that same God who has done so much, can still do what is best, and I trust he will do more than we deserve. This afternoon I am to go to the great council, to take order about the prorogation of the Parliament, according to your orders. I long to hear again from you, which is my only comfort. I fear this news may give courage to those who retired before; but God can disappoint them all, and I hope will take care of his own cause. He of his mercy send us a happy meeting again, that will be happiness to me beyond all others, loving you more than my life.

Remark.] The nine, often mentioned in these letters were the Lords Pembroke, Devonshire, Marlborough, Godolphin, Caermarthen, Nottingham, Monmouth, Admiral Russell, and Sir John Lowther.

DISPUTES IN COUNCIL WHO SHOULD GO DOWN TO THE FLEET.

WHITEHALL, *July* 13, 1690.

IF you knew in what fear I am that my letter I writ yesterday morning did not overtake the post, you would pity me; for though it is but one day's difference, yet I would not for any thing seem to have missed an opportunity of writing to you; and indeed as sleepy as I was a Tuesday night, I would have writ had not Lord Nott. assured me the message should follow the next morning early, and so he was certain it would come time enough; but when the letter came in from Lord Torrington, and what was to be done being thought necessary to acquaint you with, he stopt the messenger without telling me. This I trouble you with for my own justification, and I hope if the post

should have got long before the messenger, you will forgive me; I shall never be so careless more; for I own it was that too much, and the care of my eyes shall never more hinder me, as you will see by this that I write at a time when it does them no good. As for what has been done this morning you will have a particular account; I shall only acquaint you with my part in it. When the lords had unanimously agreed to send two of their number, and would have me choose them, I desired help, and that they would name; upon which Lord President offered his service. Lord Monmouth said he believed he might be excused, upon his relation to Lord Torrington, especially since they were not to command the fleet: Mr. Russell said he had served long under him, and it would seem something indecent in him to be forward in offering his service in this particular, though there was nothing which could be thought fit but he would do, yet he supposed others might as well. The rest offered except Lord Nott. and Lord Marl. who said afterwards they thought it would be ridiculous in them to do it. Upon this I ventured to give my own judgment for the first time, and chose Lord Devonshire and Lord Pemb. I thought I could not fail in this, for there was not much choice, and these seemed the most proper to me upon what I had heard them say, and the manner they said it. I told Lord President, when I named them, that he could not be spared, but I saw he looked ill satisfied; so that when the council was up I spoke to him, and bid him remember how necessary he was; he said he did not look on himself as so tied, but he might go away upon occasions. I told him if he were not by place, yet being the person you had told me whose advice I should follow and rely the most on, I could not spare him. There is another thing I must acquaint you with by the bye, that I believe will anger him, which is that neither Mr. Hambden nor Mr. Pelham will sign the docket for Lady Plymouth's eight thousand pounds. He complained to me; I promised to ask them about it, which I have done, and both of them asunder have told me the sum was too great to be spared at present, when money is so much wanted, and indeed I think they are in the right. I hope you will let me know your mind upon it; but they say Sir Stephen Fox owns to have signed it by surprize, and is of their mind: The only thing I could say to this was, that you had signed the warrant before you went, which I thought was enough; but they say they had not time

to represent it to you, and would only take time to do so. But to return to this morning. I spoke also to Lord Monmouth, who I saw was dissatisfied; and I told him I knew it was not fit for him to go to sea, who was a seaman, without having the command; and that, he heard, was by all agreed for the present, Sir John Ashby should have, for an encouragement to the rest to behave well, as he has done in this occasion. He told me he thought he had reason to expect it, because you once had thoughts of sending him to command, but he was content with any thing, as he said; as for that, I never heard you say it, and if you knew what I shall tell you, if ever I live to see you, you will wonder. I make many compliments to Lord Steward, and some fewer to Lord Pembroke. By advice I writ a letter to Admiral Evertzen; I forgot to tell you I did so by Mr. Russell, and then not knowing he spoke English, with much ado I writ it in Dutch, so as I believe he could have understood me, but 'tis come back to be burnt. Lord Shrewsbury was at my dinner; I told him I was glad to see him so well again; he said he had been at Epsom for the air, or else he would have been here sooner; he stayed not long, but went away with Mr. Wharton, whom I have not seen once at council, and but seldom any where. Lord Shrewsbury was again here at my supper, and as I thought took pains to talk, which I did to him as formerly by your directions. Though by my letter it may be you would not think me so much in pain as I am, yet I must tell you I am very much so, but not for what Lord Monmouth would have me; he daily tells me of the great dangers we are in, and now has a mind to be sent to Holland (of which you will hear either this or the next post.) I see every one is inclined to it for a reason I have mentioned before; but to let that pass I must tell you again how he endeavours to fright me, and indeed things have but a melancholy prospect; but I am fully persuaded God will do some great thing or other, and it may be, when human means fail, he will shew his power; this makes me that I cannot be so much afraid as it may be I have a reason for; but that which makes me in pain is for fear what is done may not please you. I am sure it is my chief desire, but you know I must do what others think fit, and I think they all desire as much as may be to act according to your mind. I long to hear from you, and know in what we have failed; for my own part, if I do in any thing what you don't like,

'tis my misfortune and not my fault; for I love you more than my life, and desire only to please you.

HER FONDNESS FOR HIM.

WHITEHALL, *July* 15, 1690.

THIS is only to tell you I have received yours of the 28th, which puts me in many troubles that I shall not trouble you with at present; to-morrow night an express shall go to you that cannot possibly be despatched to-night, and I am not sorry; for at this time I dare say but little by candle-light, and 'tis to-morrow the first Sunday of the month. I have really hardly had time to say my prayers, and was fain to run away to Kensington, where I had three hours of quiet, which was more than I have had together since I saw you. That place made me think how happy I was there when I had your dear company; but now—I will say no more, for I shall hurt my own eyes, which I want more now than ever. Adieu; think of me, and love me as much as I shall you, whom I love more than my life. I should have sent this last post; but not seeing Madame Nienhuys, hindered me then, and makes me send it you now, which I hope you excuse.

ON HIS BEING WOUNDED.

WHITEHALL, *July* 16, 1690.

I CAN never give God thanks enough as long as I live for your preservation; I hope in his mercy that this is a sign he preserves you to finish the work he has begun by you; but I hope it may be a warning to you, to let you see you are exposed to as many accidents as others; and though it has pleased God to keep you once in so visible a manner, yet you must forgive me if I tell you that I should think it a tempting God to venture again without a great necessity. I know what I say of this kind will be attributed to fear: I own I have a great deal for your dear person, yet I hope I am not unreasonable upon the subject, for I do trust in God, and he is pleased every day to confirm me more and more in the confidence I have in him; yet my fears are not less,

since I cannot tell, if it should be his will to suffer you to come to harm for our sins, and when that might happen: for though God is able, yet many times he punishes the sins of a nation as it seems good in his sight. Your writing me word how soon you hoped to send me good news, shews me how soon you thought there might be some action, and that thought put me in perpetual pain. This morning when I heard the express was come, before Lord Nott. came up, I was taken with a trembling for fear, which has hardly left me yet, and I really don't know what I do. Your letter came just before I went to chapel; and though the first thing Lord Notting. told me was, that you were very well, yet the thoughts that you expose yourself thus to danger, fright me out of my wits, and make me not able to keep my trouble to myself. But for God's sake let me beg you to take more care for the time to come; consider what depends upon your safety; there are so many more important things than myself, that I think I am not worthy naming among them. But it may be the worst will be over before this time, so that I will say no more. I did not answer your letter by the post last night, because the express could not be despatched; and I believe more hindrances are come, for Lord Steward and Lord Pembroke write word they will be here to-night; but I can say very little upon the subject at present, for really I had my head and heart so full of you, I could mind nothing else.

It is now past 10 o'clock; I don't tell you for an excuse, for I am not sleepy; my impatience is so great to hear from you again, that I am not master of it, nor indeed of myself; so that you must excuse me from saying more than is just necessary. Lord Nott. will give you an account of all that has been done. Lord Carmarthen will write to you about a thing he has put in my head, and since I thought of it, I only fear that and nothing else. I desired he would write it himself, believing what he said would have more weight with you than if it came from me, for you would believe I spoke most out of self-interest. I wish to God he could prevail. The Lords are come back from the fleet, of that I leave also Lord Nott. to write; but I have undertook to say another thing to you, which is about who shall command it, for I find every body is so animated against Lord Torrington that 'tis not to be imagined; whether you will think fit to confine him after his behaviour, I

dont know, but all the Lords believe you will not. Lord Monmouth tells me himself that he has reason to expect the command of it, upon which I told him that I should not undertake to pitch upon any body; it was a thing would allow us time enough to know your pleasure, and I thought it of too great consequence to be resolved of by any here, but that I should write to you to know your will. After this I believed that if it was mentioned in the committee, it might anger him too much if any else should be named; therefore I forbid it, and told Lord Nott. he should write to you in general, and I would name those who should be named to me. I have not had time nor opportunity to speak myself to Mr. Russell about it; but I am told he declines it; now whether that may be only modesty, I cannot tell. The others which they name, are Sir Richard Haddick and Sir John Ashby; the first of these says he wishes it might be put in commission of three persons, whereof two might be seamen, and the third some person of quality. Somebody named Lord Pembroke for the figure he might make, and Sir R. Haddick and Sir J. Ashby to be joined with him; others would have the Duke of Grafton put instead of Lord Pembroke, that he might be encouraged for his behaviour, which they say was very brave in this last business, and also learn, believing he will give his whole mind to it, and so in time be good for something. Others are for having Mr. Russell put with the two before-mentioned; but it may be he would not like it. They tell me Shovell is the best officer of his age, but he is behind these other two; and so is Killigrew, who it is much wondered is not come yet, which some think a fault to be punished, believing he has staid for merchant ships. These are all the names I remember, and when I have told them you I think I might as well have let it alone; it was only that they thought it better I should put you in mind of any body else; you will please to resolve what shall be done as soon as possible; I hope you will forgive me if I forget half what I have to say, for really my concern for you has got the mastery, and I am not able to think of any thing else, but that I love you in more abundance than my own life.

ON THE BATTLE OF THE BOYNE.

WHITEHALL, *July* 17, 1690.

How to begin this letter I don't know, or how ever to render God thanks enough for his mercies; indeed they are too great, if we look on our deserts; but, as you say, 'tis his own cause: And since 'tis for the glory of his great name, we have no reason to fear but he will perfect what he has begun. For myself in particular, my heart is so full of joy and acknowledgment to that great God, who has preserved you, and given you such a victory, that I am unable to explain it. I beseech him to give me grace to be ever sensible, as I ought, and that I and all may live suitable to such a mercy as this is. I am sorry the fleet has done no better, but 'tis God's providence, and we must not murmur, but wait with patience to see the event. I was yesterday out of my senses with trouble, I am now almost so with joy, so that I cannot really as yet tell what I have to say to you, by this bearer, who is impatient to return. I hope in God, by the afternoon, to be in a condition of sense enough to say much more, but for the present I am not. When I wrote the foregoing part of this, it was in the morning, soon after I had received yours, and now 'tis four in the afternoon; but I am not yet come to myself, and fear I shall lose this opportunity of writing all my mind, for I am still in such a confusion of thoughts, that I scarce know what to say, but I hope in God you will now readily consent to what Lord President wrote last night, for methinks there is nothing more for you to do. I will hasten Kensington as much as it's possible, and I will also get ready for you here, for I will hope you may come before that is done. I must put you in mind of one thing, believing it now the season, which is, that you would take care of the Church in Ireland. Every body agrees that it is the worst in Christendom: There are now bishopricks vacant, and other things, I beg you would take time to consider who you will fill them with. You will forgive me that I trouble you with this now, but I hope you will take care of those things which are of so great consequence as to religion, which I am sure will be more your care every day, now that it has

pleased God still to bless you with success. I think I have told you before, how impatient I am to hear how you approve what has been done here; I have but little part in it myself, but I long to hear how others have pleased you. I am very uneasy in one thing, which is want of somebody to speak my mind freely to, for it is a great constraint to think and be silent, and there is so much matter that I am one of Solomon's fools, who am ready to burst. I believe Lord President and Lord Nott. agree very well, tho' I believe the first pretends to govern all; and I see the other is always ready to yield to him, and seems to me to have a great deal of deference for him; whether they always agreed or not I cannot tell. Lord Marlborough is much with them, and loses no opportunity of coming upon all occasions with the others. As yet I have not found them differ, or at least so little, that I was surprised to find it so, I mean the whole nine; for it has never come to put any thing to the vote, but I attribute that to the great danger I believe all have apprehended, which has made them of a mind. The three I named have all the same opinion of Lord Monmouth, that he tells all to Major Wildman, and think several letters we have had, which I believe I mentioned before, were written by the last. I was unwilling to believe this, and thought there might be something of a party in it, till I asked Mr. Russell what he thought of those letters, who told me that certainly they were written by Wildman. I asked what could be the meaning; he said, to amuse us, or to give suspicion that some of the company betrayed us; for he said Wildman was of the commonwealth party, and his whole design was to make stirs in hopes by that means to bring it about; and he knew Lord Monmouth had no reserve for him, which made him glad with all his heart he was gone (that was when he was sent to Portsmouth.) This is their opinion, and indeed is now mine; for I see plainly that while he was away, there came none of these letters. Wildman said the people were gone, but now they begin to come again; and I had a conversation with Lord Monmouth t'other morning, in which he said what a misfortune it was that things went thus ill, which was certainly by the faults of those who were in trust; that it was a melancholy thing to the nation to see themselves so thrown away; and to speak plain, said he, do you not see how all you do is known, that what is said one day in the cabinet council is

written next day to France; for my part, said he, I must speak plainly, I have a great deal of reason to esteem Lord Nott.; I don't believe 'tis he, but 'tis some in his office: then he fell upon Mr. Blaithwit. I owned I wondered why you would let him serve here, since he would not go with you, but I said I supposed you knew why you did it; and when he began to talk high of ill administration, I told him in the same freedom he seemed to speak to me, that I found it very strange you were not thought fit to choose your own ministers; that they had already removed Lord Halifax, the same endeavours were used for Lord Carmarthen, and should they now begin to have a bout at Lord Nott. too, it would show they would pretend ever to control the King in his choice, which, if I were he, I would not suffer, but would make use of whom I pleased. I cannot tell if I did well or no in this, but in the free way we were speaking, I could not help it. Upon this he said, he had indeed been an enemy to Lord Halifax, but he had done what he could to save Lord Carmarthen, out of personal friendship, as well as because he believed him firm to our interest. Upon which I took occasion to remember my obligations to him upon the account of our marriage, from which he still went on, that he thought it necessary the nation should be satisfied; I asked him if he thought it possible; he said he could tell me much about that subject, but we were called to the council, so our discourse ended for that time. As for Lord Pem. I never see him but there: Lord Cham. comes as little as he can with decency, and seldom speaks; but he never visits the cabinet council. Lord Stuard, you know, will be a courtier among ladies: speaking of him puts me in mind that M. Sesak, before we went to cards, came and made me a very handsome compliment upon your victory and wound, and assured me, no man living wished us a longer and happier reign. But to return to that lord, who, (I think I have named all,) I must say once my opinion, that Lord Nott. seems to be very hearty in all affairs; and, to my thinking, appears to be sincere, tho' he does not take much pains to persuade me of it, upon all occasions, as others do; for he never spoke but once of himself, yet I confess I incline to have a good opinion of him; it may be his formal grave look deceives me; he brought me your letter yesterday, and I could not hold, so he saw me cry, which I have hindered myself from before every body till then, that it was impossible;

and this morning, when I heard the joyful news from Mr. Butler, I was in pain to know what was become of the late King, and durst not ask him; but when Lord Nott. came, I did venture to do it, and I had the satisfaction to know he was safe. I know I need not beg you to let him be taken care of, for I am confident you will for your own sake; yet add that to all your kindness, and, for my sake, let people know you would have no hurt come to his person. Forgive me this. The lords of the treasury have desired me, that if there is any thing to be done, I would hear them all. You gave me no directions in this, but to the contrary, so that I have declined it hitherto; but if I must sign any warrant, it must come to it.

I have writ this at so many times that I fear you will hardly make sense of it. I long to hear what you will say to the proposition that will be sent you this night by the lords, and do flatter myself mightily with the hopes to see you, for which I am more impatient than can be expressed; loving you with a passion which cannot end but with my life.

[*Remark.*] The proposition from the lords to the King was, that he should return.

FACTIONS AND SUSPICIONS IN COUNCIL.

WHITEHALL, *July* 20, 1690.

I WROTE to you on Tuesday night by the post, only to show that I would miss no opportunity of doing it, and have kept Mr. Gray ever since, having nothing worth writing or troubling you with. I shall now begin with answering your letter by him, and thank God with all my soul for the continuance of your good success, and hope that you will have no more to do but come back here, where you are wished for by all that love you or themselves: I need not say most by me,—it would be a wrong to me to suppose you doubt it. If the first part of your letter was extreme welcome, the next was not less so; for next to knowing your health and success, that of your being satisfied with what has been done here is the best news, and till then I was very much in

pain. You will see also that we have had the good fortune here to have done just as you would have had it yourself, in sending Mr. Russell down to the fleet; but that was prevented, as you will know before this. I told Mr. Russell what your design was then, and asked what I might write upon it now; he told me, he should be always ready to serve you any way, and seemed mightily pleased with what I told him. I did not say it openly at the committee, because I know how much Lord Monmouth would have been troubled. But I told it Lord President as you wrote him word, and Lord Nott. and Lord Marl. It seems he still wishes for a commission to other people, and not to be alone. The day that I received yours by Mr. Gray, which was Tuesday noon, the great council was called extraordinarily, being thought fit to acquaint them with the good news: but seeing you had left me to the advice of the committee when to go, I asked them in the morning if they thought it necessary; that for my own part I did not: Lord President said, No: and none else said a word. But in the afternoon when the council was met, all began, it seems, to ask if I came. Lord President said, No; upon which there were some who grumbled. Sir R. Howard made a formal speech, wherein he hinted many things as if he thought it not reasonable I should not come, and was seconded by the D. of Bolton. In the meanwhile Lord Stuard and Lord Monmouth came to me to desire me to come. I was surprised at it, for they sent for me out of my closet. I will not trouble you with all they said, but they were very pressing; and Lord Stuard told me, there were many there who absolutely told him they would not speak but before me; that they were privy councillors, established by law; and did not know why they should be refused my presence. I answered them at first as civilly as I could, and as calmly, but being much pressed, I grew a little peevish, and told them, that between us I must own I thought it a humour in some there, which I did not think myself bound to please: For should I come now for this, I should at last be sent for, when any body had a mind to it; and that I wondered they who had heard me in the morning say I would not come, should now be so importunate. But all I could say would not satisfy them; and had not Lord Nott. come in, I believe they would not have left me so soon. I cannot tell if I did well or no, but I think I did: This was the same day Lord Lincoln was here, as I wrote you

word before, and he sat in the gallery, crying aloud, that five or six lords shut me up, and would let nobody else come near me, yet never asked it all the while. Lord Nott. will give you an account of Lord Mayor's being called next day to the great council where I was, but I must needs observe that he came with his answer ready written, and pulled out his paper and read it, upon which many of those who came with him looked upon one another as amazed; and the more, because Lord President did not desire it till Friday. Another thing happened that I must tell: Lord Nott. had secured Lord Rosse, and now desired the council he might be sent to the Tower as well as so many others. All consented. Duke of Bolton asked why? Lord Nott. said, there were informations against him; and more, his own letters to Sir John Cochran. Upon which all said, a warrant should be drawn; but when it came to be signed, Duke of Bolton would not, and hindered Lord Devon by a whisper, and his son by a nod. Lord Montague would not sign it neither. If this be usual I cannot tell, but methinks it ought not to be so. Upon this I must tell you that Lord Monmouth came to Sir W. Lockhart, who told it me himself, and was very earnest for Lord Rosse's being secured, as well as further discoveries about Fergusson; that he wondered how Lord Melvill, who all the world knew had been in the dissenters' interest, would now go, and do any thing against them; that he ought in honour and conscience to hide their faults, and not discover them; and more to this purpose. He told me that he believed if Sir James Montgomery came up, he would certainly endeavour to confound us by some lies, for he was very cunning and very malicious, and delighted in mischief (these were his words); and therefore he was confident, that instead of making useful discoveries, he would accuse persons whom he thought might do his party a mischief, though there was no likelihood of their joining. Last night Lord Marlborough came to me, and made me an offer from Lord Shrewsbury, Lord Montague, Lord Godolphin, Mr. Wharton, and Mr. Jepson, to raise 1200 men immediately at their own charges, so I would but give my word they should be reimbursed when it was convenient. He desired me I would propose it this morning at the committee, without naming the persons; but after I had had time to think upon it, I told him that I did not think it proper to tell things to the committee so by halves; they would ask how they could

advise without knowing the persons; that many had offered, while all were unwilling to accept. He told me he had considered it himself since, and found they could not be ready under six weeks, in which time either you would come yourself, or send some troops, and the danger would be over; so we resolved he should give them many thanks for their offer, and give that for a reason, and the only one, of not accepting it. But I told him plainly that I did not doubt but you would approve of trusting any such thing in Lord Shrewsbury's hands, yet I did not know if all else might be employed. I confess I did not like Lord Montague, so he said indeed there were persons he believed you would mistrust, and named him. I said I could not tell particular persons, for I did not know them myself. He said they did not desire to have this known, and therefore he did not know if I would take notice of it to them; but he believed I would do well to do so to Lord Shrewsbury. I was of his mind, and resolve, when I have an opportunity for it, to do so. I hope you will not disapprove of this, being my own act; I am most concerned; I need say nothing to you of the particulars of what was done this morning. Lord Nott. will tell you all, only I must say that I hope there is no harm done in stopping 25 of the 70,000*l.* which was going to you, since it is so very necessary here; and I hope to have it made up before it can be wanted there. I was extremely loth to consent, but I must submit to others' judgment: and in this I believe I was in the right to do so, though my inclination to do just what you would have me, is ever stronger. I have no more at present, and believe this letter is not so long as it is, though I have shortened it all I can, by saying as little as I possibly could upon each subject. You don't know how I please myself with the thoughts of seeing you here very soon, but I must tell you that it is impossible to be yet awhile at Kensington. Your closets here are also not in order, but there is no smoke in summer, and the air is much better than in another season. Pray let me have your orders, if not by yourself, then tell Lord Portland, and let him write. I see I can hardly end, but I must force myself without saying a word more but that I am ever yours, more than ever, if that be possible, and shall be so till death.

HER CONCERN FOR RELIGION.

WHITEHALL, *July the* 5, 1690.

I HAVE been desired to beg you not to be too quick in parting with confiscated estates, but consider whether you will not keep some for public schools, to instruct the poor Irish; for my part, I must needs say that I think you would do very well if you would consider what care can be taken of the poor souls there; and indeed, if you give me leave, I must tell you, I think the wonderful deliverance and success you have had should oblige you to think upon doing what you can, for the advancement of true religion, and promoting the Gospel.

I had yesterday an offer made me of two hundred thousand pounds, to be lent upon a note under my hand, that it should be paid as soon as the Parliament gave money, but it was only on this condition, that the Parliament should be dissolved; I told Lord Monmouth, who made me the proposition, that was a thing I could not promise, it being of that consequence, that though all the lords of the great council should unanimously agree to, yet I would not venture upon it without knowing your pleasure; therefore, unless they would lend some money (which is really most extremely wanted) upon other terms, I must go without it; for I would not by any means engage for what I could not perform. We had besides this, much discourse, all which would be too long to trouble you with, only that he began to speak of Lord Shrewsbury (who by the way is gone to Tunbridge); he said he saw he was concerned as well as his friends at what he had done, and he believed would be very glad to serve you again; that he himself had observed you were unwilling to part with Lord Shrewsbury; and now desired to know if there was no way of restoring him. I asked if he had any to propose, but he said he had no commission to speak this. He said many extraordinary things in this discourse, which I reserve to tell you. I never write but what I think, others do not; so I shall do now, and must tell you I had written to Admiral Evertzen (by advice, as you may believe) to come up; he has been with me this very night, and though he will say

nothing positive, nor blame Lord Torrington, yet he says so much, that, as unequal as the fleets were, had the English fought like the Dutch, they should at least have so shattered many of their ships that they must have left the sea for their own safety.

HIS AND HER OPINION OF DISCORDS IN COUNCIL.

WHITEHALL, *July* 27, 1690.

EVERY hour makes me more impatient to hear from you, and every thing I hear stir I think brings me a letter. I shall not go about to excuse myself; I know 'tis a folly to a great degree, to be so uneasy as I am at present, when I have no reason to apprehend any ill cause, but only might attribute your silence to your marching farther from Dublin, which makes the way longer. I have stayed till I am almost asleep in hopes; but they are vain, and I must once more go to bed, and wish to be waked with a letter from you, which I shall at last get, I hope. Till I know whether you come or no, I can not resolve to write you all that has passed this day, till which time I thought you had given me wrong characters of men, but now I see they answer my expectation of being as little of a mind as of a body. Adieu. Do but love me, and I can bear any thing.

THE COUNCIL SPLIT ABOUT THE COMMAND OF THE FLEET.

WHITEHALL, *August* 1, 1690.

LAST night I received your letter from Wels with so much joy, that it was seen in my face by those who knew the secret of it that you were coming. I will not take up more of your time with endeavouring to tell you what is impossible to be expressed; but you know how much I love you, and therefore will not doubt of my delight to think I shall soon see you. I will not this time tell you any thing that can be writ you by others, but I must let you know that when I spoke to Mr. Russell, he answered me at first almost the same thing as this morning, till which time he took to consider. He assured me there was nothing he would not do to serve you; but he does not think

himself proper for to command the fleet in such a time as this. He says your meaning of saying Sir R. Haddock should be under him, can be no other than in commission, wherein himself should be the first; no other way Sir R. H. can possibly go. He tells me, not only the eye and expectation of all England, but all Europe, especially Holland, is upon this choice: that he does not think there is a man in England capable at this time to do it alone; that his opinion is, it ought to be in a commission of no less than three. I told him that was your intention if he would not go with Sir R. H. He excused himself from all, as believing it might be for your service; and told me he thought it should be put in the hands of two seamen and a man of quality: the man of quality he thought should be Lord Pembroke, if he desired it; but himself rather wished for Lord Shrewsbury, of whom Lord Marl. wrote you word some time since: he begged of all things it might not be the Duke of Grafton, saying he knew only enough to make him ungovernable, and is of so rough a temper, it could never suit with the seamen at all. There was another he feared yet more, which is Lord Monmouth, and indeed I believe nobody would speak for him. Some thought Lord Steward would offer himself, and that was to be feared. Upon the whole I consulted Lord President, but had first desired Lord Nottingham to talk with Lord Pemb. and hear whether he would desire it. Lord President told me Lord Monmouth had asked his advice, who, as a friend, had counselled him not to ask it alone, not judging any one man fit for it: the other pretended to thank him, but in a passion begged not to be named as one who would go on commission; so that was over. While we were talking, came Lord Nott. who told me Lord Pemb. would not ask it or desire it, nor would be willing to go. 'Tis too tedious to tell you their discourse (which was only as from Lord Nott. himself); but Lord Pembroke disapproved having a man of quality to go, saying it was only to send him to be knocked on the head, without the hopes of having any credit of what was well done. Upon which Lord President offered to go himself: I put that off with compliments, and said, I thought the best would be to name the two seamen, which could be no other but Sir R. Haddock and Sir J. Ashby, being now the first in the fleet, and leave the third person to your naming, who certainly will be here before it can go out, which I said was a reason to be given the committee,

who knew of your coming. The rest of the world should only know the third was not yet named, and need not be informed if it should be a man of quality or a seaman. This I said I thought would serve the end for which it was thought pressing as to time, since these two could as well order all things necessary as if the third were with them. This Lord President approved, and thought it best to tell the committee at once, that they might only speak their minds upon the two; and I desired it might be so, to prevent Lord Steward's offering himself: and indeed though I did not tell them anything of Lord Shrewsbury, yet I had told Mr. R. and Lord Marl. who approved it upon that account, because they hoped when you came you would name Lord Sh. which they thought would find opposition now from Lord President and Lord Nott. I confess remembering what I have heard you say; and your wishing so earnestly he had not been out, makes me apt to think you will employ him; and Mr. Russell assuring me it would be of so general a satisfaction, makes me wish it. This was done this afternoon in the committee, all generally approving the two men, and that the third should stay your coming, only Lord Monmouth, who was silent and uneasy. Lord Nott. and Mr. Russell had severally wished, to me alone, that Killigrew might be one, but durst not propose it, because of what happened yesterday in the great council, as you will hear. I thought this business had been over, but was surprised, at my return from Kensington, to find Lord Pemb. with the whole admiralty, except Mr. Russell and Captain Pristman; they told me, they came to let me know the inconveniency they believed it would be to put this business in commission, and therefore to desire that Mr. Russell might have the sole command. Sir T. Lee was very earnest in it, and indeed almost the only speaker, though for form's sake Lord Pemb. began; Lord Carbury spoke once and no more. I told them it was according to your directions in a letter to me myself, seeing Mr. Russell had excused himself, and that I did not know what more could be done; writing to you again, after you had written your mind so plainly, was loss of time, which I thought might be prejudicial to your affairs at present; but they would not be satisfied. I desired time to consider; 'twas late when they went from me. Lord President was gone home; so I sent to Lord Nottingham to have the committee appointed to-morrow morning extraordinary upon this, and have

sent to Mr. Russell to come to me first. Lord Nott. and Lord Marl. who was here, told me it was Sir T. Lee's hatred to Haddock. I think it will be to no purpose to refer the thing by letter to you: You will be here yourself before an answer, and I don't know if this long letter will come to you; at least I hope 'twill meet you upon the way. After this long letter I must tell you, that 'tis impossible for Kensington to be ready for your first coming, though I will do my best you shall not stay long for it. When you are come, I will make my apology for the matter when I see you. I shall now only tell you I am in great pain till I know if I have done well in this business or no. I am almost fast asleep, for 'tis very late. Pardon all my faults, and believe I will commit none willingly; and that I you love more than my life.

THE ADMIRALTY DISOBEY HER.

WHITEHALL, *August* 3, 1690.

THOUGH I hope in God you will come quickly, and that I flatter myself you may be come away yesterday or this day, yet I cannot rest without sending this express, in case any accident might happen, or some retardment, as many are apt to believe by Lord Portland's letters, which may make you longer in coming; so that it is fit you should know what happened yesterday. I wrote you word how those of the Ad. had been with me the night before to recommend Mr. Russell, and the answer I gave them, as also that I had spoken to Lord Nott. to call the lords together next morning, which was yesterday; they came accordingly, but I first spoke to Mr. Russell, who was still of the same mind, and assured me he could not go any way, even though he had those with him who could help him with their advice. He said the blame must still fall upon him, if any thing happened, though merely accidental, yet he said the minds of all men were so exasperated now, that it would be his ruin; you may believe I could not press him after that, nor indeed at all, as the Comm. of the Ad. would have it, since in both your letters, by which you may be sure I should only go, you said Mr. Russell and Sir R. Haddock under him: So Mr. Russell and I parted, he very well satisfied, as I thought, with the two before named. I am still in hopes you would choose Lord Shrewsbury for the man of quality,

though he owned he did not so much care for Sir R. Haddock. When the committee met, I desired Lord Pembroke to tell them what the Ad. had said to me the night before, that I might have the advice of the lords, which he did; and I saw none that thought there could be any change made, Mr. Russell having repeated all his reasons again to excuse himself. Lord Mon. was the only person who was silent; so the Comm. of the Ad. were sent for; when they came, Lord President told them what the resolution was. Sir T. Lee grew as pale as death, and told me, that the custom was that they used to recommend, and they were to answer for the persons, since they were to give them the commission, and did not know but they might be called to account in Parliament. I shall not repeat all that was said: Lord President argued with them; at last Sir T. Lee came to say plainly, Haddock was the man they did not like. Lord Pem. spoke for him, so did Sir J. Lowther. Mr. Russell was gone out. Pristman spoke against it, so did Lord Carbury, and Sir R. Ansloe; at last Sir T. Lee said, it could not be,—I might give them a commission if I pleased, but they could not; and when I saw he talked long, and insisted upon their privilege, I said, that I perceived then the King had given away his own power, and could not make an Admiral which the Admiralty did not like: he answered, no, no more he can. I was ready to say that then the King should give the commission to such as would not dispute with him, but I did not, though I must confess I was heartily angry; it may be I am in the wrong, but as yet I cannot think so. Lord President after more discourse desired them to retire. When they were gone, I saw all generally agreed I was to persist, especially since the man they found fault with was he you had named now, and as I was assured by all, was the person you had resolved upon, when Lord Torrington would not go; and every one approved of Sir J. Ashby, and concluded nothing but Killigrew could hinder him, and his absence was the main thing that made him not be thought of by most, though some were against him, upon the account of suspicions they have, which don't seem to be well grounded. Upon this it was resolved, the commissioners should be called again, and told positively they might prepare the commission, and so we parted; but Sir T. Lee, Lord Carbury, and Sir R. Ansloe sent to me to excuse their not signing. I asked Lord President what answer was to be sent, for he brought

me the message; I told him I was much surprised; he was very angry, and talked at a great rate; but I stopped him and told him I was angry enough, and desired he would not be too much so, for I did not believe it a proper time; he said, the best answer he could give from me was, that they would do well to consider of it. I desired he would add that I could not change my mind, if it were proper to say so much; he said it was rather too little. What passed at the great council you will hear; but as to this, I saw Mr. Russel this morning, and found him very much out of humour; excused Sir T. Lee, and would not believe he had said such a thing as I told you. I said indeed that had angered me very much, but he endeavoured to talk it over, and said Sir R. Hadock was not acceptable to them, because they believed Lord Nott[ingham] had recommended him, and they did not like that. I saw he shifted off the signing the commission, by saying there was not a complete Board this morning. He began again to find difficulties of precedency between Hadock and Ashby, and indeed I never saw him out of humour before. There was company by, so I had no fair opportunity of saying more to him; he only pressed the naming Lord Shrewsbury for a third, as the best means to allay all these things. But, as I had not time nor convenience to say more to him then, I was fain to leave off the discourse at a place I would have said more upon, which I had the opportunity of doing this afternoon to Lord Marl[borough,] who came to me about the same thing. I told him I was resolved to send away this express, in hopes of a speedy and positive answer, and I told him why I should be unwilling to name Shrewsbury myself. I thought it would not be proper for me by any means to name a person who had quitted just upon your going away; though I was persuaded you would trust him, and had a good opinion of him, yet for me to take upon me alone, (for we concluded none would be for it but these two who are only trusted with the secret, I mean Lord Marl[borough,] and Mr. Russel, and Lord Cham[berlain],) for me, I say, now so to name him, without being assured from yourself of your approbation, I thought not proper; therefore I desire you will be very positive in your answer, for I begin to fear Lord President may be in the right, that you cannot possibly be here so soon even as yourself thought; and if not, pray send an answer to this third person, and

likewise to the behaviour of the Commissioners of the Ad. I pray God send you here quickly, for besides the desire I have to see you for my own sake (which is not now to be named,) I see all breaking out into flames. Lord Stewart was with me this afternoon from Sir T. Lee, to excuse himself to me. He said the reason was, because he saw this was a business done between two or three, a concerted thing, and that made him he could not consent. I told him he himself could have assured Sir T. Lee it was your own orders in your letter to me, at which he shaked his head. I asked if he or Sir T. Lee did not believe me; he said, Sir T. Lee thought he was, that is Sir R. Hadock, was imposed upon the K. I said I did not believe that was so easy; I mean, said Lord Devons[hire] recommended by persons who they don't much like. Indeed, my lord, said I, if they only dislike Sir R. Hadock, because he is recommended by such as they don't approve, it will confirm me in the belief he is a fit man, since they can make no other objection against him. I confess, said I, my lord, I was very angry at what Sir T. Lee said yesterday; but this is to make me more so, since I see it is not reason, but passion, makes Sir T. Lee speak thus—Upon which we fell into discourse of the divisions, which both lamented, and I think we both were angry, though not at one another. He complained that people were too much believed that ought not to be so, and we could not agree. I should never have done, should I say all I hear upon such matters, but what I have said I think absolutely necessary for you to know. If I have been too angry, I am sorry for it: I don't believe I am easily provoked, but I think I had reason now, and, if I may say so, I do not think people should be humoured to his degree. Mr. Russel again desired the D. of Grafton should not be in; and Lord Nott[ingham] who was one of those who mentioned him before, desired me to let you know he is concerned at it, having since been informed how unfit he is. One thing more I must desire to know positively, which is about Kensington, whether you will go there, though my chamber is not ready.

THE DIVISIONS CONTINUE ABOUT THE COMMAND OF THE FLEET.

WHITEHALL, *August* 9, 1690.

YOU will not wonder that I did not write last night, when you know that at noon I received yours, by Mr. Butler, whose face I shall love to see ever hereafter, since he has come twice with such good news. That he brought yesterday was so welcome to me, that I won't go about expressing it, since 'tis impossible; but, for my misfortune, I have now another reason to be glad of your coming, and a very strong one, if compared to any thing but the kindness I have for your dear self, and that is the divisions which, to my thinking, increase here daily, or at least appear more and more to me. The business of the commission is again put off by Mr. Russel; for, the day before yesterday, the Com. of the Ad. were again called upon; and, for any thing I see, can give no good account for their slowness. They were again desired to hasten all they could, and Sir J. Lowther saying it was necessary Ashby should have help, gave occasion to ask why the commission was not signed, for which they could give but ill reasons; the lords all agreed that they should be again ordered to do it, and that immediately, which they went away for. Mr. Russel was not here, but when he came to the Adm. Board, he desired it might be put off till an answer of a letter he wrote to Killigrew could come. Yesterday morning, Lord President told me of this, before I went to the cabinet council, and I saw then was very much out of humour, which I shall reserve till I see you. Mr. Russel himself spoke to me of it, and said he believed I would not find it reasonable to venture at this time the losing such a man as Killigrew, and so gave it a very handsome turn, though I think he has no mind to Hadock. I told him I was not so unreasonable as to find fault with deferring this matter upon that account; but that I could not bear with Sir T. Lee's way. He went to excuse him. I said, that I must own to him, that, were I in your place, I would not have borne his answer; but when he had in such a manner refused to sign the commission, I should have put it into such hands as would have done it. Mr. Russel said, he hoped I would not think of doing it now. I told him no; he might be sure in your

absence I would not think of any thing of the nature, especially not without your orders for it; and when I told Mr. Russel the reasons Sir T. Lee had sent me, which were, that he had nothing so much against the man as against those who recommended him, he said indeed that was an ill argument. When the cabinet council did meet, this business was left thus at Mr. Russel's desire; but he himself and all agreed, that Lord Nott. should send for Sir R. Hadock, and tell him he was to go, that he might prepare for it; but still there is some difficulty about the precedency between Sir J. Ashby and him; for I hear that last night Mr. Killigrew's answer came, who had rather be in his own station than one of the three. Thus the matter is, and thus you will find it, for since you are so near coming, I think it will not be proper to do any thing that is not absolutely necessary, and when you do come you will then be the best judge of the whole matter. I have one thing to beg, which is, that if it be possible, I may come and meet you upon the road, either where you dine, or any where else, for I do so long to see you, that I am sure had you as much mind to see your poor wife again, you would propose it; but do as you please. I will say no more, but that I love you so much it cannot increase, else I am sure it would.

DISAPPOINTED UPON HIS DELAYING TO RETURN.

WHITEHALL, *August* 12, 1690.

UNLESS I could express the joy I had at the thoughts of your coming, it will be in vain to undertake telling you of the disappointment it is to me that you do not come so soon. I begin to be in great pain lest you had been in the storm of Thursday night, which I am told was great (though its being at the other side of the house hindered my hearing it,) but was soon delivered by your letter of the 29th from Ch. I confess I deserve such a stop to my joy, since may be it was too great, and I not thankful enough to God, and we all here apt to be too vain upon so quick a success. But I have mortification enough to think your dear person may be again exposed at the passage of the Shannon, as it was at that of the Boyne. This is what goes to my heart; but yet I see the reasons for it so good, that I will not murmur, for certainly

your glory would be the greater to terminate the war this summer, and the people here much better pleased, than if they must furnish next year for the same thing again. Upon these considerations I ought to be satisfied, and I will endeavour as much as may be to submit to the will of God and your judgment; but you must forgive a poor wife, who loves you so dearly, if I cannot do it with dry eyes; yet since it has pleased God so wonderfully to preserve you all your life, and so miraculously now, I need not doubt but he will still preserve you. Yet, let me beg you not to expose yourself unnecessarily, that will be too much tempting that Providence which I hope will still watch over you. Mr. Russel is gone down to the fleet last Thursday to hasten as much as may be all things there, and will be back on Monday, when there is a great council appointed. I don't doubt but this commission will find many obstacles; and this naming Killigrew among such as don't like him will be called in question, as well as the other two; and I shall hear again that it is a thing agreed among two or three.

JOY THAT HE HAS APPROVED OF HER CONDUCT WITH REGARD TO THE ADMIRALTY.

August the 15, 1690.

Last night I received yours of the 3d July, and with great satisfaction that it was so plain. Your approving my anger is a great ease to me, and I hope may make things go on the better if it be possible; though there are great pains taken to hinder the persons named either from serving at all, or from agreeing, but I hope to little purpose. They now begin to engage Mr. Citters in the business, and tell him stories which will be worth your hearing when you come back; and Sir R. Hadock is now said to rail at the Dutch, of which he has, I think, cleared himself. Positive orders were given Lord Pembroke this morning to have the commission immediately signed, but Sir T. Lee is again at other ways to oppose it. Yet Mr. Russel being come back this night from the fleet, to-morrow morning they will have a full Board, and so no excuse. Lord Torrington has writ to the officers that they should make an address in his favour, and takes great pains by letters among them; but

this is a secret. As for his trial, the only thing that can be done is the Admiralty's giving a commission for it, which they have already orders for; but that, as all things else with them, goes very slowly; and many disputes and niceties themselves find about it. For my part, I must confess I should think if he were now acquitted, it would be worse both in regard of Holland and the business here, than if the preparations are made, and the going out of the fleet hinder it being put in execution for a while. I should not write you this thought of mine, if I did not find several of my mind, which makes me apt to believe I am not quite in the wrong; but that you know better;—and you may believe I shall do as much as lies in my power to follow your directions in that and all things whatever, and am never so easy as when I have them. Judge then what a joy it was to me to have your approbation of my behaviour; and the kind way you express it in, is the only comfort I can possibly have in your absence. What other people say I ever suspect, but when you tell me I have done well, I could be almost vain upon it. I am sure I have all the reason in the world to praise God, who has sustained me in things so difficult to flesh and blood, and has given me more courage than I could have hoped for: I am sure 'tis so great a mercy that I can never forget it: We have received many. God send us grace to value them as we ought; but nothing touches people's hearts here enough to make them agree—that would be too much happiness. Lord Nott. will give you an account of all things, and of some letters which by great luck are fallen into our hands. I must needs tell you upon the subject, that when it was first known you intended to come back, it was said, What! leave Ireland unconquered,—the work unfinished! Now, upon your not coming, it is wondered whose counsel this is, and why leave us thus to ourselves in our danger? Thus people are never satisfied; but I must not begin upon the subject which would take up volumes; and, as much as I was prepared, surprises me to a degree that is beyond expression. I have so many several things to say to you if I live to see you, that I fear you will never have patience to hear half: But you will not wonder if I am surprised at things which though you are used to, are quite new to me. I am very impatient to hear again if you are over the Shannon; that passage frights me. You must excuse me telling my fears; I love you too much to hide

them, and that makes all dangers seem greater, it may be, than they are. I pray God in his mercy keep you, and send us a happy meeting here on earth, first before we meet in heaven.

If I could take more pains to preserve your kindness, that which you write would make me do it; but that has been ever so much my desire, that I can't do more for you, nor love you better.

SCOTCH AFFAIRS.

WHITEHALL, *August* 17, 1690.

I BEGIN to grow extremely impatient to hear from you again, and till I do shall have little rest; for the passage of the river runs perpetually in my head. God grant I may hear good news. As for what passes here, the commission is at last past, but only four have signed it; which was Lord Pembroke, Mr. Russel, Sir J. Lowther, and Captain Pristman, which it seems makes a Board. These have always been ready to do it, and the other three continue obstinate. The commission for the trial of Lord Torrington was also pressed extremely, and ordered yesterday in council that the Commission of the Admiralty should make one of such officers now in service, though they were not in the fight. I was desired yesterday to let you know that though Mr. Carstairs be gone to Ireland to press you that the Parliament in Scotland might sit, yet that the inconvenience would be so great to have the forfeitures now looked into at this time, that you are begged to consider of it. I must not name the person; he desired me not by letter, but when I see you you will know all. I have likewise been desired to tell you an imperfect story of the ill condition of the treasury. I desired it might be sent you exactly from thence, which they promise to do. I find people make so many new difficulties every day in every thing, that 'tis a melancholy business to think of it. God only can cure such matters, and I trust he will, though we don't deserve it. I will not trouble you with a longer letter at present; God give you quick success, and a speedy return, are my constant prayers with due submission. I am unreasonable upon this subject, loving you too well to be at any ease till I hear from you again.

As I had finished this, Lord Nott. and Lord Marl. comes to tell me of a

project they have, which I think Lord Marl. is to write to you; for which reason an express is sent. And that gives me the liberty of telling you 'tis Sir Wm. Lockhart who begs you to consider the matter concerning Scotland. He says he must ever speak what he thinks most for your service, and has spoke with Lord President about it, who is to write to you of it; but Sir Wm. hopes he shall never be known in the matter, because of Lord Melvill. Mr. Hampden is the person who tells such sad stories of the treasury, which I fear will prove but too true. We have had to-day a great dispute about the parliament, whether you should not call a new one or no. They would have me do it, but that I think improper for me. I think I wrote you word of this before, that Lord Monmouth pressed me much in it, and offered, as I am confident you have heard from me, a loan of £200,000 upon that condition, and 'tis certain that party have done all they could to hinder any money at all coming in; and Lord President is of opinion they will leave nothing untried, but he thinks it will not have the effect they seem to desire, but that the same persons will go near to be chose again. I find I am like to hear a great deal of this matter; but I have your absence to answer it with; I wish I had not that any longer, but that you were here to do it for yourself. This is mere self interest, longing of all things in the world to see you here again.

HER ANXIETY ABOUT HIS PASSING THE SHANNON.

WHITEHALL, *August* 19, 1690.

I HAVE had no letter from you since that of the 31st, from Chapelford; what I suffer by it you cannot imagine. I don't say this by way of complaint, for I do believe you write as often as 'tis convenient or necessary, but yet I can't help being extremely desirous of hearing again from you. This passage of the river runs much in my mind, and gives me no quiet night nor day; I have a million of fears, which are caused by that which you can't be angry at, and if I were less sensible I should hate myself, though I wish I were not so fearful, and yet one can hardly go without t'other; but 'tis not reasonable I should torment you with any of this. Lord Stuard desires me to let you know

he has had a letter from M. et Mad. de Grammon, about her brother Mr. Hamilton; they desire earnestly he may be exchanged for Lord Montjoy. I told Lord Devons. that I knew nothing of this Mr. Ham. faults (which I see he is very apprehensive the Parliament will take into consideration, if he be not out of their power), but that upon his earnest desire I would let you know it. I would have had him write it you himself, but he begs me to do it. As for Lord Montjoy, I hope you will consider if any thing can be done for him. I can never forget that I promised his son's wife to speak to you, and she really died of grief, which makes me pity her case; his family is in a miserable way, and I am daily solicited from his eldest daughter about him. If you would let Lord Portland give me some answer to this, I should be very glad, for I can't wonder at people's desiring to know some answer, though I am tormented myself. The business of the commission for Lord Torrington's trial sticks still at the Admiralty, who are appointed Monday morning to meet the civilians at council. I have staid till I am ready to go to bed, and now can put off sealing my letter no longer. I pray God give me patience and submission. I want the first exceedingly; but I hope all is well, especially your dear self, who I love much better than life.

WHIGS WANT A NEW PARLIAMENT.

WHITEHALL, *August* 22, 1690.

YOU cannot imagine the miserable condition I was in last night. I think had not your letter come as it did, I should have fallen sick with fear for your person; but all that trouble made your news of the French having left Limmerick the more welcome, I will not say your letter, for those are ever so. I am sure this news affords new reason of praising God, since I hope it will prevent any more fighting. You speak of your coming back now in a way which makes me hope not only that it will be quickly, but that you come willingly, and that is a double joy to me; for before, I confess, I was afraid to have seen you dissatisfied when you were here, and that would have been very unpleasant; but now I hope in God to see you soon, and see you as well pleased as this place will suffer you to be, for I fancy you will find people

really worse and worse. Lord Stuard was with me this afternoon, with whom I had a long conversation, which will be worth your knowing when you come; but he has made me promise to write you word now some part of it, which is, that he begs you to consider if you will not have a new Parliament, for this one he is sure will do no good; this he says is his opinion. I see it is a thing they are mightily set upon. Lord President, methinks, has very good arguments to try this first; but of all this you will judge best when you come. I can't imagine how it comes to pass that you have not received my letter of the 26th of July: I am sure I writ, and that you will have had it by this time, or else there must be some carelessness in it which must be looked after. I have had this evening Lord Annandale who is to tell all, and then I am to procure a pardon from you; but I think I shall not be so easily deceived by him as I fear Lord Melvill has been by Sir James Montgomery; but these are things to talk of when you come back, which I pray God may be very soon. 'Tis the greatest joy in the world to hear you are so well. I pray God continue it. I hope this will meet you upon your way back, so it goes by an express that it may not miss you. I can't express my impatience to see you; there is nothing greater but that which it proceeds from, which will not end but with my life.

DISPUTES BEGIN IN COUNCIL ABOUT NAVAL PROMOTIONS.

WHITEHALL, *August* 23, 1690.

THE Commissioners of the Admiralty have resolved to come to me tomorrow, with some names for flags. Mr. Russell recommends Churchill and Ellmor, because he says nothing has been done for them, though they both were trusted when you came over, and have been ever very true to your interest; but I think, if it be possible, to let them alone till you come, though Mr. Russel seems to think it cannot be delayed. I shall hear (if it must be so) what the other Commissioners think, and do as well as I can.

LORD ANNANDALE'S CONFESSION.

WHITEHALL, *August* 26.

THIS time I write with a better heart than the last, because it goes by an express, which must find you out, which it may be the common post may not so well do. There was then nothing to write: this time I have a paper to send you, which Lord Nott. is to copy, which is what Lord Annandale has made Sir William Lochart write, because he was not willing it should be seen under his own hand. I think I writ you word, or should have done, that he sent by his wife to Sir William, he would surrender himself, if he might be sure not to be made an evidence of; upon which Sir William drew up conditions, that he should tell all, and then he should be made no evidence, and has my word to get your pardon. I think I writ you this before, but to be short, he is come in, and I have spoke twice with him; the second time was last night, when he gave me that paper, and seems to be in earnest. He told me, that after the time the papers were burnt, wherewith this ends, Sir J. Montgomery proposed sending a second message by the same Simson, but he rejected it as much as he durst, but was afraid to tell him plainly he would not; so having a mind to get out of this, he pretended business at his own house in the country; but his coldness made Sir J. Montgomery the warmer in it, and assure him he would spend his life and fortune in that interest. Thus they parted, and he knew no more till Lord Breadalbane came to see Lord Annandale, in his way to Chester, where he went to meet you. He told him Sir James had certainly sent another message, but that he was not engaged in it; and believed nobody was besides, but Lord Arran, though he could not be positive if Lord Ross were not likewise in. This he told me last night, and desires to be asked more questions, not knowing but that he might yet remember more than at present he can think of. Thus he seems to deal sincerely; but to say the truth, I think one does not know what to believe, but this I am certain off, that Lord Rosse did not keep his word with me, much less has Sir J. Montgomery with Lord Melvill, for he has been in town ever since this day was sevenight, and I have heard nothing of him, which is a plaine breach of

the conditions. I hope in God I shall soon hear from you, 'tis a long while since I have; but I am not so uneasie as I was last time, yet enough to wish extremely for a letter. D'lone is to send Lord Portland, by this post, a copy of a letter from Mr. Priestman, in which you will see what need you have of that divine protection which has hitherto so watched over you, and which only can make me easy for your dear sake. The same God who has hitherto so preserved you, will, I hope, continue, and grant us a happy meeting here, and a blessed one hereafter. Farewell; 'tis too late for me to say any more, but that I am ever and entirely yours, and shall be so till death.

CONTRAST BETWEEN THE SENTIMENTS OF THE DUTCH AND ENGLISH WITH REGARD TO THEM.

WHITEHALL, *August* 29, 1690.

LAST night, when it was just a week since I had heard from you, I received yours of the 20th, after I was a-bed. I was extreamly glad to find by it you had passed the Shannon; but cannot be without fears, since the enemys have still an army together, which, though it has once more run away from you, may yet grow desperate, for ought I know, and fight at last. These are things I can't help fearing, and as long as I have these fears, you may believe I can't be easy; yet I must look over them, if it be possible, and force myself to talk, or presently every body thinks all lost. This is no small part of my penance; but all must be endured as long as it pleases God, and I have still abundant cause to praise him who has given you this new advantage. I pray God continue to bless you, and make us all as thankfull as we ought; but I must own the thoughts of your staying longer is very uneasy to me. God give me patience. I hope you will be so kind to write oftener; while you are away, it is really the only comfort this world affords, and if you knew what a joy it is to receive so kind a one as your last, you would by that, better than any thing else, be able to judge of mine for you, and the belief that what you say upon that subject is true, is able to make me bear any thing. When I writ last I was extream sleepy, and so full of my Scotch

business, that I really forgot Mr. Harbord. He wrote to Sir R. Southwell, as he told me, but he has a great deal to say. He pleased me extremely to hear how much people love me there; when I think of that, and see what folk do here, it grieves me too much, for Holland has really spoiled me in being so kind to me; that they are so to you 'tis no wonder,—I wish to God it was the same here; but I ask your pardon for this,—if I once begin upon this subject, I can never have done to put it out of my head. Lord Marl. is also very earnest with me to write to you what has been done to-day, and the Commissioners of the Admiralty have been here in a body, at the cabinet councill, to name four persons, out of which they desired me to chuse two flags. Lord Marl. desired me to name them to you in order, which is Churchill, Elmore, Wheeler, and Mitchell; he says Lord President may write to you about one Carter, and 'tis like enough he will, for he tells me he is much an older officer, and will quit if these come over his head, and says all goes by partiality and faction, as indeed I think it is but too plain in other things; how it is in this you will be best able to judge. I writ you word before what Mr. Russel said of the two first; you will do in it as you please, for I told the Commissioners myself, that I hoped you would be here so soon, that I did not see why this matter should not stay for your coming, and so I resolve to leave it, if it's possible, but could not refuse my Lord Marl. nor indeed myself, the writing you the matter as it is, though he expects I should write in his favour, which though I would not promise, yet I did make him a sort of compliment, after my fashion. I need not repeat either how much I love you, nor how impatient I am to see you,—you are kind enough to be persuaded of both; and I shall make it my endeavour, while I live, never to give you cause to change your opinion of me, no more than I shall my kindness for you, which is much above imagination.

GREAT HEATS ABOUT NAVAL PROMOTIONS, ETC.

WHITEHALL, *September* 1, 1690.

THIS day at noon I received yours, which came by the way of Dublin, and am sorry to see the messenger's news confirmed; but it has pleased God to bless you with such a continued success all this while, that it is, may be, necessary to have some little cross. I hope in God this will not prove a great one to the main business, though 'tis a terrible thought to me, that your coming is put off again for so long time; I think it so, I'm sure, and have great reason every manner of way. I will say nothing of what my poore heart suffers, but must tell you, that I am now in great pain about the naming the flags. Mr. Russel came to me last night, and said it would now be absolutely necessary; when I insisted upon staying till I heard from you, he desired to know if I had any particular reason. I told him plainly, that since I could not pretend to know myself who were the fittest, it troubled me to see all were not of a mind; that I was told by several persons, that there were ancient officers in the fleet, who had now behaved themselves very well this last time, and would certainly quit if these were preferred; so that he could not blame me if I desired, in this difficulty, to stay for your answer, to whom I had wrote. To this he answered, in more passion than ever I saw him, that Carter and Davis, which he knew Lord President and Lord Nott. would speak for, were two pitiful fellows, and very mean seamen; that next summer he would not command the fleet if they should have flags. After a long dispute about this matter, I have put him off till the last moment comes, when they are to sail; he says, then he must speak of it to the Comm. and hear who will speak against it, by which I may judge. I see Lord Marl. heart is very much set upon this matter, and Mr. Russell, as you may see by what I write, on t'other side. Lord President says, if Churchill have a flag, he will be called the flag by favour, as his brother is called the general of favour; he says absolutely this Carter will quit, and commends him highly; but I must tell you another thing, which is, that he is mightily dissatisfied with the business of Kinsale. I see he does not oppose it, for he says 'tis your order, and

therefore must be obeyed; but I find he raises many difficulties to me; what he does to others I can't tell, but among other things, he endeavours to fright me by the danger there is of being so exposed, when the fleet and 5000 men are gone, which he reckons all the force; tells how easy it will be then for the French to come only with transport ships, and do what they will; but with all this is very desirous to forward all things. You will have an account from Lord Nott. what has been done this day and yesterday. I know you will pity me, and I hope will believe that if your letter had been less kind, I don't know what would become of me, 'tis that only makes me bear all that now so torments me, and I give God thanks every day for your kindness; 'tis such a satisfaction to me to find you are satisfyed with me, that I cannot express it; and I do so flatter myself with the hopes of being once more happy with you, that that thought alone, in this world, makes me bear all with patience. I pray God preserve you from the dangers I hear you expose yourself daily to, which puts me in continual pain. A battle, I fancy, is soon over; but the perpetual shooting you are now in is an intolerable thing to think on. For God's sake take care of yourself; you owe it to your own and this country, and to all in general. I must not name myself where Church and State are equally concerned, yet I must needs say you owe a little care for my sake, who, I am sure, loves you more than you can do me; and the little care you take of your dear person I take to be a sign of it: but I must still love you more than life.

OPPOSITION TO LORD MARLBOROUGH'S EXPEDITION TO KINGSALE, ETC.

WHITEHALL, *September 5*, 1690.

MY poor heart is ready to break every time I think in what perpetual danger you are; I am in greater fears than can be imagined by any who loves less than myself. I count the hours and the moments, and have only reason enough left, to think as long as I have no letters all is well. I believe, by what you write, that you got your cannon Friday at farthest, and then Saturday I suppose you began to make use of them; judge then what cruel thoughts they are to me to think what you may be exposed to all this while. I never

do any thing, without thinking now, it may be, you are in the greatest dangers, and yet I must see company upon my sett days; I must play twice a-week,—nay, I must laugh and talk, though never so much against my will. I believe I dissemble very ill to those who know me, at least 'tis a great constraint to myself, yet I must endure it. All my motions are so watched, and all I do so observed, that if I eat less, or speak less, or look more grave, all is lost in the opinion of the world; so that I have this misery added to that of your absence and my fears for your dear person, that I must grin when my heart is ready to break, and talk when my heart is so oppressed I can scarce breathe. In this I don't know what I should do, were it not for the grace of God which supports me: I am sure I have great reason to praise the Lord while I live for this great mercy, that I don't sink under this affliction; nay, that I keep my health,—for I can neither sleep nor eat. I go to Kensington as often as I can for air, but then I can never be quite alone; neither can I complain, that would be some ease; but I have nobody whose humour and circumstances agrees with mine enough to speak my mind freely to: Besides, I must hear of business, which being a thing I am so new in, and so unfit for, does but break my brains the more, and not ease my heart. I see I have insensibly made my letter too long upon my own self, but I am confident you love enough to bear with it for once: I don't remember that I have been guilty of the like fault before, since you went, and that is now three months, for which time of almost perpetual fear and trouble, this is but a short account, and so I hope may pass. 'Tis some ease to me to write my pain, and 'tis a great satisfaction to believe you will pity me, it will be yet more when I hear it from yourself in a letter, as I am sure you must if it were but out of common good nature; how much more then out of kindness, if you love me as well as you make me believe, and as I endeavour to deserve a little by that sincere and lasting kindness I have for you. But by making excuses I do but take up more of your time, and therefore must tell you that this morning Lord Marl. went away; as little reason as I have to care for his wife, yet I must pity her condition, having lain in but eight days, and I have great compassion for wives when their husbands go to fight. There has been a great debate this morning in the cabinet council, whether the Commissioners of the

Admiralty should be trusted with the secret. Mr. Russel thought it was no matter if the whole town knew it; Lord President thought the whole success depends upon it being a secret, and would not have the Commissioners of the Admiralty told it by no means. Most were of his opinion, especially Lord Monmouth; but 'tis too tedious to write more of this: you will have an exact account from Lord Nott. of all that has been done besides to-day. If the wind continues fair, I hope this business will succeed; though I find if it do not, those who have advised it will have an ill time, all except Lord Nott. being very much against it; Lord President only complying because it is your order, but not liking it, and wondering England should be so exposed, thinking it too great a hazard. There would be no end should I tell you all I hear upon this subject, but I thank God I am not afraid, nor do I doubt of the thing, since 'tis by your order. I pray God the weather does not change with you as it does here; it has rained all last night and this day, and looks as if it were set in for it. Every thing frights me now, but were I once more so happy as to see you here, I fancy I should fear nothing. I have always forgot to tell you that in the Utrecht Courant they have printed a letter of yours to the States, in which you promise to be soon with them; I can't tell you how many ill hours I have had about that in the midst of all my joy; when I thought you were coming home, it troubled me to think you would go over and fight again there. Now my letter is already so long, but 'tis as if I were bewitched to-night, I can't end for my life; but will force myself now, beseeching God to bless you, and keep you from all dangers whatsoever, and send us a happy meeting again here upon earth, and at last a joyfull and blessed one in heaven in his good time. Farewell; do but continue to love me, and forgive the taking up so much of your time to your poor wife, who deserves more pity than ever any creature did, and who loves you a great deal too much for her own ease, though it can't be more than you deserve.

HER DISLIKE OF THE QUEEN DOWAGER.

WHITEHALL, *September* 18, 1690.

NOTHING can express the impatience I have to see you, nor my joy to think it is so near; I have not sleept all this night for it, though I had but five hours sleep the night before, for a reason I shall tell you. I had a compliment last night from Q. Dowager, who came to town a Friday; she sent it I believe with the better heart because Limmericke is not taken. For my part I don't think of that or any thing else but you; God send you a good journey home, and make me thankfull as I ought for all his mercies.

END OF THE APPENDIX.

A

SERMON

Preached before the

QUEEN,

At WHITE-HALL,

On the 16th. Day of *JULY*, 1690.

BEING THE

MONTHLY-FAST.

By the Right Reverend Father in God,
GILBERT Lord Bishop of SARUM.

LONDON,
Printed for *Ric. Chiſwell* at the *Roſe* and *Crown* in
St. *Paul's* Church-yard, MDCXC.

SERMON.

PSAL. LXXXV. VER. 8.

"I WILL HEAR WHAT GOD THE LORD WILL SPEAK, FOR HE WILL SPEAK PEACE UNTO HIS PEOPLE, AND TO HIS SAINTS: BUT LET THEM NOT TURN AGAIN TO FOLLY."

In all the various turns of David's life, we find him neither so much lifted up with success, nor depressed with misfortune, that he went off from that confidence in God, which was his basis, and on which all his hopes rested. When he was beset "with ten thousands of people that had compassed him round about, he was not afraid, but laid himself down in peace and slept, for it was God only that made him to dwell in safety;" and when his afflictions grew so high, that once his own people spake of "stoning him, yet even then when he had fainted, unless he had believed to see the goodness of the Lord in the land of the living, he encouraged himself in the Lord his God." And when a happy reverse of his affairs raised him to a vast elevation, and a series of great successes covered him with so much glory, that all his enemies did fall or fly before him; this change of his condition wrought no change in his mind, unless it were to the better, he employing the hours of that tranquillity which he had procured to himself and to his people, in composing this Book of Psalms, in which by a happy intermixture of the two charmingest things in the world, Poetry and Music, he studied to raise in himself and in his people the loftiest thoughts of God, and the most grateful acknowledgments of his mercies that was possible.

There is somewhat in misfortune and affliction that gives men naturally a cast towards religion and devotion; for, the mind being driven in upon itself, and forced to think much, if it is apt to be overcharged with melancholy, then it increases its trouble by severe thoughts, drawn from the considerations of religion; but if it is naturally gay and cheerful, then it entertains itself with such a pleasant prospect of hope as religion proposes. Thus, it is so common to all men in trouble to look towards God, that unless the mind is strongly fortified against those impressions, they will then break in upon it; but the charms of ease and prosperity, of greatness and glory, do soon deface all those good thoughts, which arise out of blacker circumstances; the mind stays no more within itself, but is softened with pleasures, and dissipated with business or folly, and retains neither its former wise thoughts nor good resolutions; yea, that very devotion which was one's sanctuary and relief in the evil day, becomes matter of raillery in the days of mirth and gaiety.

How different from all this was this great King, who though he was raised from a low condition to an high dignity, which often brings a giddiness over weak minds, that cannot bear such an unlooked-for progress in their fortunes, and that extraordinary merits, a high courage, a wise conduct, and great virtues made, that his advancement might be considered, as the effect as well as the reward of his worth; yet he ascribes all his deliverances, all his victories, and all his glory, wholly to the goodness of God, and to his great designs, in which he was employed as an instrument, that how glorious soever it might be, was yet only an instrument in the hands of that Eternal Mind that raises up and uses all persons in subserviency to those ends, for which all things were made and do still subsist. In these his raptures he did not think it would derogate from his glory, to acknowledge, that "he did not trust in his bow, neither did his sword save him," but that it was God "that had saved him from his enemies, and had put them to shame that hated him; that God was his refuge and strength; that vain was the strength of man; that a king was not delivered by the multitude of an host, nor was a mighty man de-

livered by much strength; that God was his deliverer and his shield, in whom he trusted, that subdued the people under him, that gave salvation to kings, and that delivered David his servant from the hurtful sword."

The conquests and the treasures of David are perhaps objects which strike the minds of some princes, while his courage and his wisdom raise a nobler ambition in others. But, alas! shall his piety and devotion have no force to work on great minds, raised to great dignities, who, how much soever they may be exalted above the rest of mankind, yet still in comparison to God, and when put "in the balance with him, they are altogether lighter than vanity." What a new face would the world put on, if it were governed by princes of such a temper as appears in David, when he composed this psalm, of which my text is a part. He begins it with a grateful remembrance of the deliverances of former times, and particularly of their being redeemed out of the bondage their fathers suffered in the Land of Egypt. "Lord, thou hast been favourable unto thy land, thou hast brought back the captivity of Jacob, thou hast forgiven the iniquity of thy people, thou hast covered all their sin, thou hast taken away all thy wrath, thou hast turned thyself from the fierceness of thine anger." These are both acknowledgments of past mercies, and encouragements to hope for a return of the like blessings, since such extraordinary favours were marks of a particular care and kindness that seemed to watch over them. From these he proceeds to an earnest intercession for the people, who it seems were then under signal characters of God's displeasure: "Turn us, O God of our Salvation, and cause thine anger towards us to cease: Wilt thou be angry with us for ever? Wilt thou draw out thine anger to all generations? Wilt thou not revive us again, that thy people may rejoice in thee? Shew us thy mercy, O Lord, and grant us thy salvation." Words of great tenderness, that express both a deep sense of God's anger, and a most earnest desire of being again restored to his favour! After these comes my text, which carries in it a poetical allusion to the consulting of the Cloud of Glory, which was between the Cherubims, and to the receiving answers from it upon all critical occasions.

David turned his thoughts from all the other views he might have, to this, "I will hear what God the Lord will speak," that so he might depend wholly on the assurances that he should receive of God's favour, upon the repentance and prayers of the people; and in consideration of God's covenant with them, he knew the answer would be Peace; which being the form of salutation in those ages among friends, imported an entire reconciliation. So that by "speaking peace," is to be understood an assurance of God's love and favour to "his people, and to his saints;" that is, to the people that was sanctified, and dedicated to the service of God by so many federal rites. The words that follow are capable of different renderings,—either thus, "to his saints, and to such as turn not again to folly," or, "and they shall not turn again to folly;" or as it is in our translation, and "let them not turn again unto folly." The LXX. interpreters differ much more, but the enlarging on any account of those various renderings, would require too long and too dry a discourse for a day of this kind. Folly in Scripture stands often for atheism and impiety: "The fool has said in his heart, that there is not a God." Sometimes for idolatry, there being no instance of folly that is more extravagant than the giving divine honours to the works of men's hands, or to the fictions of their vain imaginations; but most commonly the irregularities of vice are set forth in Scripture under this notion, to shew how contrary they are to all the principles of true reason that are in our natures. The words being thus opened, lead me to speak to these three heads.

I. That the great security and happiness of a nation depends on its being at peace with God, and in his favour; and that its greatest danger and misery arises out of God's anger and displeasure.

II. That, therefore, it is necessary to use most earnest and fervent prayers for removing God's anger, and for the procuring his favour: And that our great encouragements to this are the remembrance of past deliverances, and the consideration of the attributes of God, who is naturally gracious and merciful.

III. That a nation, which would secure to itself the continuance of God's favour, and of all the blessings that accompany it, must above all things take care of not relapsing into vice and idolatry, ungodliness and atheism.

To return. "The greatest security and happiness of a nation depends on its being at peace with God, and in his favour: And its greatest danger and misery arises out of God's anger and displeasure." Either this is true (let our scoffers make it the subject of their profane mirth as much as they will), or there is nothing true in all religion. If God is infinitely wise and perfect, and if he made the world, which they pretend to own, then certainly he still takes care of it; for nobody can deny a Providence, that does not likewise in his heart deny a God, and a Creation. The prejudices against Providence arise chiefly from the narrowness of our minds, that cannot conceive how one Being can have an extended and universal care of all things; but is not the prejudice of a blind man against the possibility of seeing, as well grounded? For how extravagant must this appear to him, that through so small a passage as the pupil of the eye, such a vast variety of objects should enter at once, and open themselves within the body of the eye without confusion, and there be represented to us in their just figures, with their distance from us, and from one another; and in their colours, which he cannot understand neither, and that thus at a great distance we can reason and judge of things;—to one that perceives nothing but by touch, this will appear very unconceivable. If, then, the good disposition of an organ raises one man so far above another, that he cannot apprehend how such an extent of perception is possible, it is a most unreasonable thing to conclude against any perfection in the Divine Mind, because it is beyond our compass of thought. The other prejudice against Providence seems a little better grounded, which is, That in the government of the world there is such an irregularity, that it cannot be supposed to flow from a good and a wise being. But this is likewise an effect of the shortness of our pro-

spect, we seeing only things that are before us, but not being able to guide our eye further to the end of the scene, nor to what revolutions or catastrophes are abiding those who at present seem covered with success and glory. But if we believe God to be the infinitely Pure and Holy, we must likewise believe that he loves those that are truly good, and are conformable to his own nature, and that he has an aversion to those who are contrary to it, and that are defiled and impure; for the principle of self-love that is natural to every being, makes it love such as resemble it, and hate such as are in an opposition to it; not by a hatred of anger and fury, which is the effect of passion and disorder,—by a hatred which arises out of the contrariety of nature that is between them. It is then, as certain as that there is a God, that he is perfectly pure and holy, and that by consequence such nations as are virtuous and innocent, that are neither false nor cruel, vicious nor dissolute, must be more acceptable to him, and more constantly protected by him, than those that are corrupted by sensuality and luxury into all the degeneracies of human nature, and into a scorn of religion and virtue.

But though it is certain that such debauched nations are under the Divine displeasure, yet as to the properest time, and the suitablest circumstances in which God will pour out his indignation upon them, and as to the balancing of the sins of one nation against another, and the delivering one over to be plagued by another, till the one is purged, and the other has filled up the measure of its iniquities; those are secrets lodged in that Infinite Mind, into which our sight can carry us but a very little way.

Upon the whole matter, if there is a God that made the world, he governs it; and if he is wise and holy, he must govern it so as to favour the good, and to hate the wicked. If any object to this the long-flourishing of the Turkish Empire, and the strange progress and success of Mahometism, the answer is plain enough, That the Eastern Christians were so far degenerated from all that is pure and noble in the Christian religion, that they were become a reproach to it, and therefore God has

delivered them up into so long a captivity, and has rewarded the temperance, the justice, and the aversion to idolatry, that are among the Mahometans, with so long a course of prosperity. If the reign of some princes, that have broken through the faith of oaths and treaties, and through all the sacredest rules of justice and mercy, has hitherto had a course of success and glory, to which we find nothing that can be compared in history since Augustus' days; yet even to this it must be said, That we can form no true judgment of it till we see to the end of it; and even this is only a personal success, for that the nation that is the scene of that prince's glory, may suffer as much under him, if not more, than it could have done from any enemy; since all the protection that they enjoy under him is, that they are preserved from the impressions of others, that they may be the entire prey of the lawless power, that devours them and all their substance, and employs it in the support of his injustice and cruelty. Besides, the great decays of true religion among all those churches that carry the name reformed, may have required an exemplary chastisement to awaken and purify them; and the slow progress that they make in this, may have occasioned so long a continuance and increase of glory in him whom God has made the rod of his anger for correcting them. But when that end of Providence is once fulfilled, we may then reasonably hope to see that persecutor, who is swelled up upon his success, become the object of as much scorn as he has been hitherto of flattery. But, alas! our impenitence and irreligion keeps off still that day, and our immoralities and vices do still feed his pride, and furnish him new matter of triumph and glory.

In a word, nothing needs be further said for a fuller proof of this matter, than that those very sins that provoke the wrath of God, do likewise dissolve and corrupt all that is great or noble in human nature; falsehood dissolves the mutual confidences and union of a nation, without which it must act feebly and move irregularly, as a disjointed body. Cruelty brings a barbarity on men's natures, which makes them incapable of prudent and wise counsels. Sensuality takes away men's hearts, their cou-

rage, and their spirit; but, above all things, a brutal impiety and scorn of religion cuts all the banks and fences of human society, and not only sets men loose to all their appetites and passions, by taking off all inward checks and restraints, but begets a sort of boisterousness and insolence in their tempers, so that they become incapable of order and conduct, and equally unfit both for council and execution.

How much of all this belongs to us is but too visible! Would to God it were but a secret, and not too notorious and public! Where is the ancient gravity and composure of behaviour that made a large part of the character of this nation? Where is the truth and fidelity which was formerly one of the distinctions of Englishmen? Where is the good nature and generosity that was the ornament of those that were nobly born? Where are even the decencies of religion, or of the worship of God? What is become of the love of our country, and of its ancient government and liberty? Has not this shameful degeneracy of our morals brought us so low, that there is scarce virtue enough left, and men enough to be found, that have even a general tincture of it to save a nation? Sensuality has run many into such a deep arrear for vice, that they cannot be true neither to public nor private engagements, and then employments will be made the robberies of the public, and vice will swallow up all that strength and treasure which should go to the support of the nation. Men are pleased or displeased only as their vices are fed or starved. Some pretend to be patriots that are so eminent for vice, that a government fixed, and strong enough to reform the nation, must throw them off as the scum and reproaches of it; for let those sons of Belial say what they will, atheism and impiety are as destructive to a nation as they are to a Church. What can secure a man's honesty, or give life to his industry? What can cure all those diseases under which we languish, but the possessing men's minds with inward principles of religion, which will make them to become a law and a rule to themselves? What can raise in men a generous love to their country, which is the root of all political virtues, to so high a degree as the prin-

ciples of Christian love and charity, the sense of an account to be given to God for all we do, and that noblest principle of all religion, the raising up our natures to become as like the Divine Being as possibly we can;—which will give us a zeal of doing all the good we can to mankind, and of being public blessings to the age and place we live in. These are solid principles, upon which virtue is founded, and in these it finds a root, from which it receives a perpetual increase. But if virtue has no other root but honour, which is a decenter name for pride or humour, there is no strength in this principle to resist a temptation that bears hard upon some other corrupt inclination, especially if one hopes that things may be managed with art and secrecy.

But, on the other hand, what can be desired to make a nation great and happy, but that which at the same time recommends it to the favour of God? When the principles of truth and goodness, of sobriety and temperance, of mutual love and kindness, and above all when an inward strictness in examining one's actions as in the sight of God, come to possess multitudes of men, then a nation may reckon itself safe and happy; because, as it comes under a kind and indulgent Providence, so it has a real strength from the virtues of every individual person, in whom those good qualities live. The world might be well and happily governed with a moderate proportion of understanding, if there were but a great deal of virtue under it; for if it were not for vice and falsehood, which must be watched over carefully, there are not such mysteries in things, but that they may be easily mastered. Here is, then, the root of all our evils, on the one hand, and the remedy to them all on the other; we have fallen from our ancient virtues, and our religion has not force enough to reform or restrain us; we went easily into corruption, when great examples led and encouraged us to it. But we do not so easily recover out of it, though we have now as bright examples before us the other way; but this has a contrary operation on depraved minds, and instead of making them love virtue and religion the better for the lustre with which it shines in the persons of those that govern us, many perhaps love the Government the

worse, because they apprehend that immorality and impiety will become more odious, less excused, and less protected. But a noble pattern set by princes, though it is a great thing in itself, yet it is not all that they owe to God and to their people. It does indeed give them great advantages in reforming their Courts, and their subjects, when it appears that they do not deny to others the freedoms of vice, that they may appropriate them to themselves; and that what they do this way is not a hypocritical affectation for advancing other designs, but that it is a genuine effect of their own virtues, a homage that they pay to God, and an effect of the love that they bear to their people. And we do not doubt but that every advance that is made in the establishment of the throne of those whom God has set over us, will be acknowledged by them in such returns of their zeal for God, as we find resolved on by David, "That their eyes shall be upon the faithful of the land, that they may dwell with them, and that those who walk in a perfect way shall serve them; but that froward and wicked persons, those that work deceit and tell lies, shall not stay within their house, nor so much as in their sight." For, as God will honour those that honour him, so he likewise expects that such as he has honoured in the sight of all the world, by so many repeated marks of his favour, should honour him not only in their own private deportment, but likewise in the sight of all their people; and how natural soever clemency may be to them, and how beautiful soever it may appear in them; yet if milder methods cannot reform us, they must at last resolve even to cut off wicked doers from the city of the Lord.

Then we may carry our hopes as far as we can do our wishes, when God is of our side, who commands the seas and winds, of which he has given us many and signal instances, and some of these very lately; who confounds the councils of the wicked, who sometimes takes both their understanding and their hearts from them, and at other times strikes them with such panic fears, that one man can chase a thousand of them; and, on the other hand, blesses those that depend on him with happy circumstances, so that the frame of nature is of their side, and from those

favourable appearances their courage is raised, and their spirits are animated so that nothing can stand in their way. This is often the portion of those that fear God; for, to conclude all, as there is nothing that depresses and misguides men more than superstitious and false opinions of God and religion, so there is nothing that does so raise and establish the mind in every thing that is great and noble as true principles of religion, which carry a man to the highest and best things, of which his nature and faculties are capable.

And thus, from a great variety of considerations, it is plain that the favour of God is the foundation both of the security and of the happiness of a nation. This then leads me very naturally to the second head, which is, That it is therefore necessary to use most earnest and fervent prayers for removing God's anger, and for the procuring his favour.

This can be no indifferent thing, and therefore it is either to be neglected quite as an empty dream; or, if there is any truth in it, we ought to use all possible means to compass it. If the favour of princes is pursued with so much application and industry, that all methods, both good and bad, are made use of for gaining it; if a constant attendance, and all the arts of pleasing them, how costly or how abject soever, are taken for securing an interest in them, which perhaps will never succeed, or when gained may prove of small advantage, and may be quickly lost; what do we make of our religion, if we own that we believe all these things to be true, and yet will be at no pains to procure to ourselves or to our country an interest in them. Can such cold devotions as ours are, that in the greatest part are only a compliance with custom, which we offer up to God without either attention or affection, give us a title to such invaluable blessings? We pursue all things with an earnestness of desire and a strength of thought proportioned to the value that we set on them; and if we are cold and slack only in the matters of religion, when we overdo every thing else, this shows that either we do not at all believe them, or that we do not at all value them. I know earnestness in prayer is one of the subjects of the profane mirth of our scoffers; they cannot

think that God is moved by our earnestness to depart from his own counsels, and therefore they think all ferveney in prayer is a vain heating of the imagination to no purpose. But though it is certain that our importunities do not overcome God, though men are sometimes wearied out with them, and yield to them, yet he commands us to pray earnestly, and he promises to reward our fervour in prayer, for this end, that the impressions of religion, and of our dependence on him, of our impotence without him, and of his goodness and bounty to us, may go deep in our minds. These are the springs of all religion and virtue; and when these are strong in us, they govern us in all our actions. In fact, it is certain that none are so powerfully and effectually subdued by the principles of religion, as those who are frequent and earnest in prayer. God having made this the condition of bestowing his favours on us, not as it has an effect on himself, to soften and overcome him, but as it has an effect on us to make us serious and good: from hence it appears how reasonable a thing it is for us to pray often and fervently. And in this all good minds may be appealed to, that set themselves often to seek God by fasting and prayer, if they do not find the happy effects of it upon their minds: That earnest agitation of their thoughts, which is raised by fervent prayer, ends in an inward calm, joined with higher degrees of confidence of God, and upon it, a good temper of mind dwells upon them, their minds grow clearer, and their thoughts brighter; whereas such as disuse secret prayer, come under a flatness and deadness in the matter of religion—it has no life within them, it gives them neither joy nor courage, zeal nor affection. Nor is there any thing to which the visible decay of religion in this age is so much owing, as to the neglect of secret prayer, which has prevailed so universally, that whereas in former times it would have passed for a strange thing if a man had gone into any business without he had first said his prayers, it would now be thought ridiculous to hear that a man was retired to his prayers; and the using such earnest and tender expressions as we find here in this Psalm, would pass for a mark of an enthusiast or an hypocrite. But, let the world think and say what they will, it is by prayer that our souls

ascend up to God, and draw down all blessings from him. This is that which removes his displeasure, and procures his favour; and neither the abuse of it by hypocrites, nor the scorn cast upon it by atheists, can lessen its value in the sight of God, nor our obligation to it.

To encourage us to it, we have the consideration of the nature and attributes of God. He is gracious, slow to anger, and ready to forgive; judgment is his strange work, whereas mercy and compassion are natural to him. It is true, as he is the just and righteous Governor of the world, he must punish when it is necessary for the maintaining the order that he has established; but yet "he afflicts not willingly, nor grieves the children of men;" and therefore we are sure, that upon our turning to him, our praying earnestly, and our repenting sincerely, he will turn from the fierceness of his anger. Of this we are assured, both from his nature and attributes, and also from his promises; and if those limited degrees of goodness that are in us bring us under a tenderness of heart and readiness to forgive such as seek to us, had they offended us ever so much, we have much more reason to assure ourselves that God will "speak peace to us," upon our supplicating him as we ought to do.

There is in this Psalm another consideration that gives us great encouragement in our addresses to God for pardon, which is, That in former times, when his people had provoked him to deliver them up to captivity, he had, upon their repentance, forgiven their sins, turned away his anger, and brought again their captivity. And from those instances of his mercy in past times, David does expect new proofs of it, as we may also do if we take the same method now which had such effects formerly. The nature and promises of God are still the same; repentance and prayer have the same effect at all times. David did here encourage himself with the remembrance of the deliverance of the people out of Egypt, when after a long course of oppression, God did with a mighty hand and an outstretched arm bring their fathers out of that bondage; and from that time downward, God had often heard them when they groaned under the yoke of oppressors, into whose hands he had delivered them for their sins; but

he had also raised up instruments, by whose means they were freed from the yoke they lay under. And from those signal instances of God's hearing their prayers, and being reconciled to them, they had reason to reckon that the severities of his judgments which at any time broke out upon them, were intended only for their reformation and correction. The whole Old Testament contains a series of history made up of those varieties—that people sinned and were punished; they repented and were delivered. In conclusion, their sins were such, that they were given up as a prey to the King of Babylon, but after seventy years' captivity they were brought back upon the prayers and intercessions that Daniel and other good men put up to God, according to God's promises and to the time limited by the prophets. Upon the perfecting of that deliverance under Artaxerxes, they began to relapse into some of their old sins; but Ezra and Nehemiah, who saw well what consequences these sins must have, and how they might be prevented, engaged them to an early and serious repentance, the good effects of which continued near 300 years; but then they corrupted themselves again, upon which they were delivered up into the hands of the Kings of Syria, who oppressed them severely, and studied to defile their temple and to extirpate their religion. Upon this they returned to God, and he raised up deliverers for them, in the persons of Matthias and his sons the Maccabees, in whose courage, conduct, and success, we see one of the beautifullest scenes that is in history. Those wars did purge them quite from all that mad inclination that had been so long among them to idolatry; they flourished and had rest about an hundred years, till they corrupted their morals again, and then they fell under the mischiefs of civil wars, which made way to their coming first under the tyranny of Herod, and then under the Roman yoke; but under all that oppression they did not, as they had done formerly, "Repent and turn unto God;" and though first St. John the Baptist, afterwards our Saviour himself, and his Apostles after him, particularly S. James, the brother of our Lord, ceased not to call on them to repent, and threatened them with a final extirpation if they did it not; yet this had

no effect, except on some particular persons,—the rest hardened themselves in their immoralities and hypocrisies. "They killed the heir, that the inheritance might be their own," according to the parable, and they stoned and slew the rest; and they being so obstinate in their impenitency, that neither the calamities they lay under, nor the messengers sent them from God, could work on them,—the wrath of God at last came upon them to the uttermost, and in so terrible a manner, that their destruction is by much the most tragical piece of history.

Let us next observe, in short, the history of the Christian religion. It is an astonishing thing to see a doctrine, that by its rules carries men to the highest degrees of purity, and that received so great authority from all those miracles that accompanied the first opening of it to the world, yet so soon depraved, even in the Apostles' days, by many false teachers and false Christians;—this were an incredible thing, if the Epistles of the Apostles themselves were not full of it. But upon this God delivered many of them up to the fury of the Jews, and to the cruelties of Nero; but upon their repentance they were spared in the final destruction of Jerusalem; and though there were some particular instances of persecution under Domitian and Trajan, they passing for a sect of the Jews, yet after that they had a long peace of about 140 years' continuance,—in which time the Christian religion did shine in the purity of their lives who professed it, and did spread itself over the whole Roman empire. And the instances of severity that were acted in a few places, gave the Church the glory of many martyrs, while the rest were rather encouraged by their constancy, than terrified with their cruel deaths. The writers of those times do often make their appeals to the lives of the Christians, to prove the purity of their doctrine; yet numbers are generally bad, and a long peace brings naturally with it a softness on men's minds, together with a dissolution of their morals, of which S. Cyprian gives us a particular account, in terms that show he did not flatter his side, nor the order of the Church, to which he was so great an honour; for he sets out the corruptions, as well of the bishops and clergy as of the laity of his time,

in a style that is far from partiality. After this came persecution after persecution; but these having the effect for which they were appointed of God, the Church had again forty years' peace. But it would offend weak minds to hear the words in which Eusebius sets forth the corruption that this brought on the Church. Then came the last persecution, which continued ten years with very little intermission, and with so excessive a fury, that in the succession of the persecutors every one studied to outdo all that had gone before him. Yet these repeated fires of their martyrs, kindling another fire in the minds of the Christians, and setting them on to fastings and prayers, God did at last arise, and sent them a deliverer from this island, Constantine, who first gave them quiet and liberty, and then protection and favour; and then the Christian religion shined with a new lustre of wealth and prosperity. But, alas! this was not so happy to it as that which the fires of the martyrs had given it. The Church did soon degenerate, and the Bishops of the chief Sees fell into factions. The history of that time gives us but a sad view of the governing men of the Church. But yet even there we have a witness in favour of that religion that is beyond exception,—I mean Julian, who tells his heathen priests, in his zeal for the restoring of paganism, how both priests and people ought to imitate the lives, the temperance, the gravity, and above all the charity that was among the Christians. But insensibly in the course of an age, Christianity did so degenerate, that scarce any thing of the first purity and simplicity was left. Great disorders, irreconcilable heats, and differences, and disputes, even about authority and precedence, tore the Church, and exposed it to the reproaches of its enemies; and after that God had suffered that apostacy for a whole age, it drew at last a series of plagues upon them, that amazes every one that reads it. The Western Empire was over-run with an inundation of northern nations, that came so thick one after another, that whatsoever one had spared, seem to be only reserved to be destroyed by the next that came. In a word, the Goths and Vandals, and the Huns brought an unheard of destruction along with them; that was followed by plagues and famines, to

so high a degree, that whole countries were almost dispeopled. The Eastern Empire was also long wasted by the Goths and Avares, and then by the Saracens, and finally destroyed by the Turks. In this island we received the Christian religion very early. We had our martyrs as well as the other Churches, and a particular simplicity of manners, which is remarked as the peculiar ornament of our clergy. But this did not last long, for there followed a vast corruption among all sorts of people, which is set forth very sincerely and pathetically, by a very good man that saw it and lamented it—I mean Gildas. After that we lost both our religion and liberty, and fell under the Saxon tyranny; then Christianity got footing again among us, within an age and an half after that, but it was much allayed and debased; yet, such as it was, it made a great progress, and produced some very good men, if we may believe Bede. But the nation became rather more corrupt than ever, and then we were delivered over to the depredations, the burnings and cruelty of the Danes, which continued at several reprises for near two hundred years to be the plague of England. At last all was melted into one government, but then the nation became a scene of blood, what during the competitions to the crown, the Barons' wars, the wars with France, and those of the Houses of York and Lancaster.

But to take a narrower view of the state of the Protestant religion, both abroad in the world, and here in England, we shall find how often God, for the sins of those who carried that worthy name of Reformed Churches, but that were not worthy of it, has brought them very low; and what sudden and unlooked-for deliverances have again recovered and restored them. Upon the first opening of the Reformation, all the world run into it. The corruptions and ignorance of Popery were things of which all men were so weary, that they with joy welcomed the light and the purity of the gospel; but in the multitudes that embraced it, there was a great mixture,—many came in only for the spoil, and threw off the yoke of all religion, as well as that of Popery. But God punished this severely; for

though they were by much the superior force in Germany, which was then the scene, and were secretly favoured both by England and France, yet all their strength did melt away, and they dividing their forces, became an easy prey to Charles the Fifth, who got both their heads, the Elector of Sax and the Landgrave of Hesse, into his power, and made all the rest bend under him; only the town of Magdeburgh stood out against him: and in a course of five years' success the Protestant interest was brought so low, that it was every where given for lost, when of a sudden Maurice of Saxe, that had been the chief instrument of dividing the party, and of delivering it up to the Emperor, gave matters so quick a turn that the Emperor was forced to run out of Germany; and he soon saw he could not hope ever to return to it, without granting the edict of Passaw, under which security the Protestant religion has subsisted there ever since.

Not many years after that a second storm arose, King Edward died; and while Queen Mary persecuted and burnt the Protestants here in England, France and Spain fell under the ministry of two Cardinals, who seeing that the way which they called heresy was gaining ground everywhere under the shelter of the wars, they projected and effected a peace, in order to the extirpating of heresy; but while this was in agitation, Queen Mary died, and soon after the King of France was killed, and left that kingdom under the feebleness of a long minority; a deliverance sprung up also in Holland, after many unsuccessful attempts, by a small company of fishermen, who seized on the Brill, and from inconsiderable beginnings, falling happily under the conduct of a family of heroes, have grown up to be one of the powerfullest nations that any age has seen. Here was the second crisis carried off.

A third was, when the league of France was formed, for the extirpation of Protestants, and that Spain at the same time designed the conquest of England, upon which they reckoned that the war in the Low Countries would soon come to an end; but all this was blasted, the Armada of eighty-eight was scattered and lost, the heads of the league were killed,

and Spain became so feeble that those were its last efforts. In this age, from the year 1620, for ten years together, the whole Protestant interest was everywhere sinking. The Revolution of Bohemia, and the reduction of Hungary, raised the House of Austria so high, that every thing that stood in their way fell before them; and all the attempts made to preserve Germany proved fatal to those who undertook it. Then Holland was brought very low by the loss of Breda, and the breach among themselves occasioned by the Arminian business; the French Protestants were by the reduction of Rochel, brought to extremities; England fell under a feebleness and disjointing at home, when of a sudden the great Gustavus with a small army broke through the whole Austrian force, and restored the liberty of Germany, and obliged France, that needed his alliance, to confirm the edicts in favour of the Protestants; so that storm went over and the Protestant religion was again as strong as ever.

The next crisis was in seventy-two, when the States were marked out to be the first sacrifice; but we were to have gone next, and tyranny and Popery were everywhere to be established. That union, which had at first such an unlooked-for success, had almost swallowed up Holland, the inundation breaking in upon them with such a rapidity, that nothing could stand before it, till a young prince, who as he was the inheritor of the glory of four successive ancestors, every one of whom had lustre enough to have ennobled a whole race, so was he designed by heaven for a much greater harvest of triumph and glory; till he, I say, stemmed this torrent by so small a handful at first, that it seemed a tempting of Providence, to have hoped for success where the force was so unequal. But his virtues and his valour begot first union at home, and then security abroad; and though he could not all at once raise up their armies to imitate the pattern he set them, yet we now see, even in their late misfortune, with what a spirit of courage such a hero can inspire an army. This crisis went off likewise, and there appeared such characters of the protection of God over "the man whom he had made strong for himself," and the State which was then so gloriously preserved, that all the world looked on this

as an essay of the great things that heaven designed to the age, by that hand, whose first attempts proved so fortunate.

The last crisis, in which we still are, began in eighty-five, when within the compass of one year Popery was on the throne here in England; it had likewise the Palatinate brought under it, and the Protestant religion was proscribed and persecuted both in France and Savoy. Then the instruments of the pride and cruelty of the persecutor reckoned that heresy was to be extirpated all the world over. There was indeed no visible hope left, but in him who had begun his career with so much glory, and seemed marked out to be the common deliverer of Europe, as well as the special blessing of all the Churches of God. I shall not enlarge further on that, with the sense of which I hope all your hearts are filled, how ungratefully soever it may be opposed by some, whose designs, whatever their meaning may be, tend to the bringing us under French tyranny and Popish cruelty. When we also consider the special deliverances of this Church, the critical time of Henry the Eighth's breaking with Rome, and of Queen Mary's death; Queen Elizabeth's glorious reign; the discovery of the Gunpowder treason; the long peace of eighty years with which this kingdom was blessed, to which there is not any thing that can be compared in our whole history; the easy conclusion of a long and bloody civil war; the first, and now the second preservation of Ireland, with the surprising circumstances of both;—what reason have we from all these to conclude that as God has hitherto watched over us, and preserved us in so wonderful a manner, he will still continue to do it? But this last deliverance of Ireland must not be passed over in general words. Can we reflect on the many dangers to which that Sacred Life, on which all ours depend in so signal a manner, was so lately exposed, without feeling a commotion within us that is both melting and tender? for though it is now past, we still tremble to think that it was once so near; while a hand of heaven seemed so to lead the bullet, that though it was suffered to touch his anointed, yet could do him no harm. Do not we look amazed on one another, when we think in what a state we had been if it had gone deeper; while he

that received it, seemed to be the least concerned of all that beheld it. And thus while other princes take care of their own safety, and grow proud upon the glory that their subjects procure them, he does not think the regal dignity bright enough but as it takes a fresh lustre from military glory. But while we take leave humbly to complain that he has so little regard to himself, we must with all thankfulness acknowledge that this defect of care in him is fully supplied by the watchfulness of that Providence on which he does in so particular a manner depend. If our glory has on another side received an eclipse, though even on those less fortunate occasions we have seen particular instances of a watchful Providence, while the winds changed to preserve and favour us; and perhaps it would have been too great a provocation to pride and security, if we should have had two great victories at once. Yet if we have failed at this time, what may not we hope from such an essay, but that angels watch over him, and that the head of angels covers him? and that this retarding of our deliverance and darkening of our glory is but for a new reserve of triumph to him, whose scene of success is not complete till all that false shining, which has so long compared itself to the sun, is darkened; and that not only England, but Europe, is by his means delivered from all their fears and dangers.

But how far soever such a subject may carry me, I must not suffer you to forget that which remains of my text, "But let them not turn again to folly." I shall not dwell here upon so beaten a path, as the showing you the madness and follies of vice. You have so many instances of so great force round about you to demonstrate this, that it is needless to enlarge upon the breaches that vice makes on men's persons and their estates, on their reputation and courage; its wasting their spirits and depressing their minds, are such visible things, and have showed us so many wrecks on all hands, that we must needs see how just and reasonable it is to bring all these disorders under the denomination of folly. Idolatry is also such a debasing the nature, both of God and of man, by which the ideas of God are brought so low, and our natures are so affronted, while we pro-

strate ourselves before the works of men's hands, or the fictions of their minds, that this is also folly, and a folly of so strange a kind, that it is not easy to imagine that human nature should be capable of it. But no folly is more extravagant than that of imagining that things were made and are preserved by chance or fate, without the directions of a wise and good Being; and that either there is no God, nor Maker of all things, or if there is one, that he has abandoned the works of his hands, that he does not see through the thick cloud, that it is in vain to serve him, and that his wrath is but a word, made use of by crafty men to frighten fools. This is the language of scoffers, and a degree of folly beyond all others, even the venturing upon eternal misery, upon the maddest set of principles that ever were put together. These are the follies that we must guard against, lest if after God has delivered us once more, we should again relapse into them, and that then our latter end should prove worse than the beginning.

If God should now according to the riches of his grace deliver us from all our enemies, and from the hand of all that hate us, and should establish that which he has wrought for us, and add to the settlement of his true religion, and the happy constitution both of Church and State among us, a secure and honourable peace, a fulness of plenty, and a freedom of trade, and should carry the glory of our sovereigns so high, as to make them the arbiters of Christendom and the protectors of all Protestants: if, I say, after so great an accession of wealth and prosperity, of success and glory to us, we should then give ourselves up to our vices, as if all our blessings were only intended to furnish out our luxury with all the variety of entertainments; if we should grow proud of the ancient valour of our nation, while we degenerate from it ourselves, and by despising our neighbours should both make them stronger and ourselves weaker; if we should take up our animosities, as if we had only made a truce with one another, while we had a mighty enemy to deal with, and so would revive these follies, which God has by an interposition of so many providences called on us to forget; if we of the Church should forget all our promises, and

resolve to yield nothing for the gaining of our brethren, but should let our minds rather be soured with the old leaven of bitterness and malice; if those who depart from us should rather study to strengthen their party than to hearken to the counsels of peace; if those of a higher rank should become swelled with pride or softened with voluptuousness; if the clergy should become lazy, covetous, and ambitious; and the whole nation should again break loose into open vice, and divide into parties and factions;—but above all, if impiety and blasphemy, scoffing and atheism, should again be in vogue, and pass for wit and spirit,—then upon so fatal an abuse of God's mercies, we should have reason to look for judgements as eminent as such our ingratitude should be; and that the return of wrath should be so heavy, that our portion should be to perish with an everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord, and from the glory of his power. But if we become so wise, and so good as to improve the deliverance that is already come to us, and those which we have in prospect, to the noble ends for which they are designed by God, then we may expect to see an accomplishment of all the other blessings which David promises to himself, and to his people in this Psalm, "That mercy and truth should meet together, and righteousness and peace should kiss each other." That a spirit of truth, and honesty, and love, and charity, should run through the whole nation, and knit it altogether in one body; that truth should become so natural to them, that like the growth of the earth, it should spring up of itself; and that righteousness should like a dew from heaven, cover the whole land; that God should bless them with every good thing, and that they should have a rich soil and fruitful seasons; and that deliverances should be near or present at every return of danger, for preserving those that fear God; and the top of all, that glory should dwell in their land,—by which is to be understood that cloud of glory which was between the Cherubims, and was the symbol of God's presence among them; that is, That the true religion, with all the happy characters of God's favour, should be still continued among them, by which they were the glory of all lands, and all the nations of the earth were to be blest in

them. This as applied to us, is, that God may establish and continue his true religion among us, that he may watch over and preserve those whom he has set over us; and that as their lives have been hitherto a series of wonders, so he may perfect that which concerns them, and bless the work of their hands; and that the whole nation may return to its ancient honesty and virtue; and that all differences and divisions may be composed, we being animated with one heart and one spirit; and that to all this the blessings of peace and plenty may be joined,—which God of his infinite mercy grant, through Jesus Christ our Lord. AMEN.

THE END.

EDINBURGH: PRINTED BY THOMAS CONSTABLE,
PRINTER TO HER MAJESTY.